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ABSTRACT

This report is one of a series of papers presented to encourage discussion on the evaluation of important development issues. The recent emphasis within the Agency for International Development (AID) on knowing the impacts of development assistance, particularly the benefit incidence of projects and programs, makes it important to look at the impacts of assisted activities on poor women, the subgroup of the poor which has been the agency's most clearly selected target for help. Focusing on what is now known about bettering the effect of all development projects on women, the report is divided into four sections. The first section introduces the problem, explains how the evaluation conducted differs from the original proposed method of the project, and provides background information about evaluating development projects. Section 2 reviews and analyzes the current evaluations of women in development projects sponsored by AID. It focuses on three dimensions of female participation: their role in project decision making, their direct access to benefits, and the effects of the project on their position in the family and the community. Section 3 provides an analytical framework for assessing the impact of development projects on women. It describes an approach to performing both mid-stream evaluations of the immediate social effects of ongoing projects, and ex-post evaluation of long-term impacts following project termination. Section 4 discusses methodological issues in compiling comparative data on AID projects, suggesting more flexible techniques of rapid appraisal. A reference section is included in the publication. (KC)

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ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ON WOMEN

by
Ruth B. Dixon

A.I.D. Program Evaluation
Discussion Paper No. 8

Office of Women in Development
and
Office of Evaluation
Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
Preface		i
About the Author		iii
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	CURRENT EVALUATIONS OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS: A REVIEW AND ANALYSIS	4
	Participation of Women in Project Decision Making	19
	Access of Women to Project Benefits	28
	Effects on the Status of Women	41
III.	ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ON WOMEN: AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK	52
	Indicators of Physical Wellbeing	57
	Indicators of Economic Wellbeing	64
	Indicators of Social Wellbeing	71
IV.	METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN COMPILING COMPARATIVE DATA	81
	Sources of Data on the Participation of Women in Project Decision Making, Access to Project Benefits, and Immediate or Long-term Consequences	81
	A Comparative Approach for Evaluating the Effectiveness of Different Project Strategies	90
	REFERENCES	101

List of Tables

		Page
Table 1.	Women in Development Projects, Classified by Purpose and Sector	7
Table 2.	Women in Development Projects, with Intended Beneficiaries, Major Inputs, and Participation of Women	11
Table 3.	Framework for Evaluating the Distribution of Project Benefits	55
Table 4.	Actual and Alternative Designs for an Integrated Rural Development Project	80
Table 5.	Major Project Characteristics Affecting Inducement and Ability to Participate	93
Table 6.	Basic Sets of Factors in Task Environment Affecting Participation in Rural Development Projects	96

PREFACE

This is one of a series of papers presented to encourage discussion on the evaluation of important development issues. The A.I.D. Program Evaluation Discussion series reviews findings from evaluation and proposes issues for evaluation of current and future development activities. The series is coordinated by A.I.D.'s Office of Evaluation.

We are particularly pleased to present this paper to a worldwide development audience. Since 1974 A.I.D. has attempted to enhance the role of women in development (WID). With the recent emphasis within A.I.D. on knowing the impacts of development assistance, particularly the benefit incidence of projects and programs, we believe it important to look at the impacts of assisted activities on poor women, the sub-group of the poor which has been the Agency's most clearly selected target for help. Directing the fruits of development to the poor is difficult and we have no illusions about the difficulty of directing positive impacts to a sub-group of the poor. A.I.D. has been aware that the U. S. legislative policy regarding women in development is intended to apply to as much of the program as possible.

Last year we commissioned a data collection effort on evaluations involving "women's projects" (Elliott and Sorsby, 1979).* The authors of that study charged that the evaluations they identified appeared scanty and could not clearly tell impacts. We pursued this by commissioning the present paper to analyze, in depth, evaluations on women in development projects and to recommend lessons learned and ways of better evaluating such projects.

This paper verifies the charge. It puts forth a considerable amount of data on what is now known about bettering the effect of all development projects on women. We are publishing this paper as a direct challenge to colleagues to

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* Available in limited supply from the Office of Evaluation, A.I.D.

take the impact of their projects on women more seriously. As an institution, A.I.D. should be at the stage of learning fully from its "WID" projects and should be well into the stage of making far larger investments to better the condition of women.

Thankfully, Dr. Dixon has compiled an impressive array of information on what is known about impacts of development activities on women. Her recommendations should give confidence to developers (planners, designers and evaluators) to put more significant funding into activities intended directly or indirectly to better the lives of women.

Comments on this report and contributions to the evaluation findings regarding women in development will be welcome by A.I.D. and the author.

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About the author

Ruth B. Dixon is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of California at Davis. A social demographer, her research interests center on the social aspects of reproductive behavior, the relation between economic development and demographic change, and the role of women in development. She is the author of Rural Women at Work: Strategies for Development in South Asia (1978) which draws on field investigations of women's economic activities in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Nepal. Professor Dixon has been a consultant to the United Nations Branch for the Promotion of Women, to the Office of Women in Development at AID, and to the World Food Programme, and is currently on the Board of Directors of the Population Association of America.

I. INTRODUCTION

This report was commissioned by the Office of Evaluation of the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination of USAID, in consultation with the Office of Women in Development, to accomplish four objectives:

1. Examine current evaluations of Women in Development projects in the Third World for the adequacies and inadequacies of their measures of social impact, drawing on evaluations of projects funded by AID and by other donors classified in the report by Veronica Elliott and Victoria Sorsby, "An Investigation into Evaluations of Projects Designed to Benefit Women" (1979);

2. Identify, from these same documents, institutional and substantive lessons learned regarding what works and what does not in specific socioeconomic environments;

3. Propose a more comprehensive framework for measuring the impact of development projects on women; and

4. Suggest a strategy for collecting additional information from the field, and for coordinating evaluations with other agencies for comparative purposes.

The report that follows differs in several ways from the original intent. First, it quickly became apparent that the question of "what works and what does not" in specific socioeconomic environments can be answered only tentatively and partially from existing documents. Many Women in Development projects are too new to have completed a formal evaluation process, even though questions of potential impact on women are addressed in a preliminary way in Project Papers or other documents. Among those with completed evaluations, both the description of socioeconomic environment and the measures of social impact are usually inadequate for these purposes. Identification of institutional and substantive lessons learned beyond those few included here, must await a more systematic series of project evaluations based on a comparative methodological approach.

Second, the framework proposed here for measuring the impact of development projects on women represents a general type of social assessment that looks at the differential effects of projects on a variety of social groups: females relative to males, landless peasants compared with landowners, ethnic minorities compared with the numerically or socially dominant ethnic group, and so on. Although the examples in this paper refer to women, the approach is essentially the same regardless of social category of interest.

Third, although the original objective was to look at evaluations of Women in Development projects, I am proposing instead an approach to evaluating the impact on women of any development project -- whether or not women are specifically cited as beneficiaries -- ranging from small-scale local training projects to large-scale integrated land settlement schemes. The identification in agency files of Women in Development projects is undoubtedly helpful in assessing the extent to which projects explicitly recognize women as intended clients and in documenting the level of funding of such projects, although the problems of classification are considerable.[1/] But whether a project is classified as "women-specific," "women's component," or general (beneficiaries identified without regard to gender, such as "small farmers," "out-of-school youth," "urban slum dwellers"), the methodological issues are similar. We need a technique that will help us to answer the question: under what conditions are women least likely to be disadvantaged by development projects, both in absolute terms

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[1/] For discussions of this point, see Elliott and Sorsby (1979); Staudt (1979); U.S. Agency for International Development (1978).

and relative to men?[2/] Or, to put it more positively, how can we be sure that women as well as men, girls as well as boys, take advantage of new opportunities? How can we minimize the differential impact on males and females of project benefits and costs, and, where sexual inequalities prevail, ensure that females are able to catch up to males in their access to material and social resources?

2/ The negative wording of the question is intended as a reminder of the uneven and sometimes disastrous consequences to women of a variety of development projects and policies in the past. For an overall perspective, see (among others) Boserup (1970); Chaney and Schmink (1976); Tinker (1976); Van Allen (1974). Annotated bibliographies on Women in development include Buvinic (1976), Nonformal Education Information Center (1978), Rihani (1978).

II. CURRENT EVALUATIONS OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS: A REVIEW AND ANALYSIS

The Elliott and Sorsby report includes profiles of 43 projects funded by AID or by private voluntary organizations (PVOs) in which women are specified as beneficiaries (in whole or in part) and, for AID projects, that have been evaluated. A number of these do not comply with the more restrictive definition proposed by AID's Office of Women in Development, however, which identifies a WID project as one designed for women only to help them "catch up" with men, or one with a strong women's component as an integral part of a general project. AID's definition, which emphasizes women's economic roles, excludes activities such as maternal and child health or family planning that offer goods and services in the absence of training or other assistance aimed at increasing productivity or earnings. According to the Special Concerns Code for classifying AID projects, the WID category should:

CODE	CONCERN	DEFINITION
WID	WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT	Include activities which will help integrate women into the economy of their respective countries, thereby both improving their status as well as assisting the total development effort. (See Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act.) Programs and projects which are in whole or part specifically designed to afford women the opportunity to participate in the development process in a significant way are to be included in this category. Not all projects which include women as beneficiaries are to be included. For instance, population projects in which women are merely recipients of goods, such as contraceptives, or health projects where mothers receive food and services for their children, are to be excluded. However, where, in addition to the provision of goods and services, women receive training or other assistance designed to increase their earning capacity or enhance their economic productivity, include the relevant portion of the funding for the women's component in this category. Where a specific women's component is designed into an integrated project, include the proportion of that component as a women in development effort. (emphasis added).

Of the 43 projects included in the Elliott and Sorsby report, 32 are reviewed here. Of the 11 that were excluded, 6 are AID agency-wide grants to U.S. institutions for training or research in which the analysis of social impact on intended beneficiaries is not possible;[3/] one is an urban water project with no clear women's component;[4/] one is a day-care center for nutritionally deprived children;[5/] one is a grant for the evaluation of an educational TV system;[6/] and two are clear women's projects for which documentation could not be obtained.[7/] Evaluations were obtained from AID files and from the July 1978 and January 1979 Directory of Projects Involving Women compiled by the Secretariat for Women in Development of the New TransCentury Foundation in Washington, D.C.[8/]

3/ Grants to Stanford University for the design of radio prototypes for teaching elementary math in LDCs; to Stanford University for curriculum development in low-cost communication; to Florida State University for the development of educational technology useful for LDCs; to the University of Massachusetts for training in non-formal education; to Oklahoma University for research in low-cost methods of water and waste treatment in LDCs; and to the American Home Economics Association for training third world home economists in family planning.

4/ Taiz Water Rehabilitation in Yemen Arab Republic (AID/NE).

5/ Day care center for hardship children in Chile (AID/LAC).

6/ Evaluation of education TV projects in El Salvador (AID/LAC).

7/ Poultry development in Yemen Arab Republic (AID/NE); Caritas de Honduras housewives clubs (Inter-American Foundation).

8/ I am indebted to Debra DeWitt for collecting and summarizing these documents. Additional compilations of Women in Development projects can be found in Mickelwait, Riegelman, and Sweet (1976) and U.S. Agency for International Development (1978), among others.

The remaining 32 Women in Development projects are listed in Table 1 according to their purpose and sector. Purposes can be classified according to a number of criteria. A recipient agency -- a Ministry of Education, a marketing cooperative, a women's association -- receives aid on the "promise" that it will provide goods or services (directly or indirectly) to a targeted class of beneficiaries within given parameters such as budget and time constraints and through designated procedures. These goods or services are intended to achieve specific project purposes, e.g., "to increase annual net cash farm incomes over 50% in a five-year period, by adopting modern sericulture practices." One useful approach is to distinguish between projects designed primarily to increase the productivity of beneficiaries (classes of individuals, households, or localities) and those designed to improve their welfare.[9/]

Projects defined as increasing productivity try to raise production, employment, or incomes among the target group, either directly through skills training (formal or nonformal), group mobilization, technical assistance, credit, or job creation, or indirectly through the expansion of physical infrastructures such as electricity, irrigation, and roads, or through other means. They may focus on productivity in food and agricultural production and distribution, on nonagricultural production and services, or on some mix of these. Included in the agricultural

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9/ "Welfare," for lack of a better term, refers here to the fulfillment of basic human needs. The distinction between productivity and welfare is somewhat artificial, since material prosperity (deriving from productivity) is a basic element of human welfare, while health, education, and organizational capacity can all increase productivity.

TABLE 1

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, CLASSIFIED BY PURPOSE AND SECTOR

Purpose	Sector	Projects a/
Increase production/ employment/ incomes	Food and agricultural production & distribution	1. Palm oil purchasing/food marketing in Cameroon (4)
		2. Sericulture in northeast Thailand (17)
		3. Pig raising in the Republic of Korea (47)
		4. Land conservation in Lesotho (9)
		5. Rural water systems in Kenya (8)
	Non-agricultural production & services	6. Commercial sewing & baking in Costa Rica (22)
		7. Vocational skills training in El Salvador (24)
		8. Sewing center in the Philippines (49)
	Mixed	9. Mohair, tie & dye, poultry in Lesotho (10)
		10. Food production & processing in Upper Volta (14)
		11. Food processing, toy making, silk screen & crafts in Kenya (44)
		12. Income-generating schemes for rural women in Bolivia (20)
		13. Sewing, candy production, floriculture in Paraguay (29)
		14. Rural market women's co-ops in Nicaragua (28)
		15. Handicrafts, animal raising, food crops in Dominican Republic (52)
		16. Women's co-ops in Bangladesh (45)
		17. Handicrafts and poultry raising in Fiji (46)
		18. Income-generating projects in the Philippines (48)
Improve welfare	Education (formal)	19. Secondary school for girls in Uganda (12)
		20. Primary schools and teachers' hostels in Afghanistan (31)
	(nonformal)	21. Literacy & community self help in Ethiopia (5)
		22. Radio programs for highland Indians in Guatemala (26)
		23. Community development project in Sri Lanka (30)
	Health	24. Audio cassettes on health and nutrition in Tanzania (11)

TABLE 1 (continued)

Purpose	Sector	Project a/
Improve welfare (continued)	Community organization	25. Research on women in Ghanaian development (6)
		26. Leadership training for PVOs in Ghana (7)
		27. Seminars on women in Upper Volta (13)
		28. National Women's Development Academy projects in Bangladesh (16)
		29. Citizenship training for girls in Thailand (51)
		30. Leadership training for volunteers in Latin America (9)
		31. Leadership training for volunteers in Costa Rica (23)
Promote integrated development	All sectors	32. Pespire Valley Integrated Development in Honduras (27)

a/ Numbers in parentheses refer to pages in Section III of Elliott and Sorsby (op. cit.)

sector in Table I are a palm oil purchasing and food marketing cooperative for women in Cameroon, a sericulture project for farm families in northeast Thailand, a pig raising project in the Republic of Korea, a land conservation scheme in Lesotho, and a rural water systems project in Kenya. The nonagricultural sector includes skills training and production centers in commercial sewing and other activities in Costa Rica, El Salvador, and the Philippines. Mixed income-generating projects -- the most frequently occurring category -- include a variety of small-scale agricultural and nonagricultural production schemes for low-income rural and urban women such as handicrafts, poultry raising, and food production and processing.

Projects defined as improving welfare include general education in the formal or nonformal sectors (school construction or staffing in Uganda and Afghanistan, functional literacy and self-help activities in Ethiopia, Guatemala, and Sri Lanka); health programs (health and education in Tanzania); and support for national or local organizations for leadership training, research, program planning, community outreach, and other activities intended to promote citizen participation. This latter category, the second most frequent on the list, includes seven projects in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Some projects overlap the boundaries because of the diversity of their purposes or the phased sequence of activities. Several projects in the community organization category, for example, have as their eventual goal the expansion of income-generating opportunities for women although they are still in the formative stages of leadership training or research. An integrated rural development scheme (listed separately)

will, by definition, try to reach all sectors. But the framework provides a useful starting point for viewing the Women in Development projects under discussion here.

Table 2 indicates for the 32 projects the intended beneficiaries as stated in Project Papers and other documents, the major inputs or means by which project purposes were to be achieved, and a summary of the participation of women in project decision making, their access to project benefits, and the major social and economic impact of the project on women.

The column labelled intended beneficiaries describes the characteristics of the intended project clientele, or target group. Twenty-two of the 32 projects are women-specific, that is, are intended to serve an exclusively female clientele (e.g. "all women of Bui division who want to join Nso women's co-op" in Cameroon; "50 women from home improvement clubs in 11 low-income villages" in the Republic of Korea). The remaining 10 include an assumed or explicit women's compnent (e.g. "1500 farm families in settlement areas of 8 provinces" in Thailand; "about 300,000 remote rural dwellers in Kenya, especially women."). Twenty of the projects are based in rural areas, four urban, and eight mixed. The focus on low-income people is clear, although the immediate beneficiaries of several leadership training projects are primarily middle or upper-middle-class women rather than the poor whom they are ultimately expected to serve.

The size the the target group (where it can be determined) varies enormously, ranging from the 50 women of home improvement clubs in a PVO-sponsored pig-raising project in Korea to the 300,000 rural dwellers

TABLE 2. WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, WITH INTENDED BENEFICIARIES, MAJOR INPUTS, AND PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

Project [a] / Major inputs → / Intended beneficiaries	Physical infrastructure	Group mobilization	Training	Technical assistance	Credit	Other inputs	Research	Participation of women in project decision making	Access of women to project benefits	Effects of project on status of women	Source of information
1. Palm oil purchasing/ food marketing in Cameroon (4) (AID grant to Nso Co-op Union) All women of Bui Division who want to join Nso Women's Co-op		X		X	X			High local partic. in initial stages Some transfer of d-m to male mgt. of Nso Union	All members of 62 village co-ops are women Some poor women cannot afford to buy shares	Improved nutrition at lower cost of palm oil Higher incomes from food sales Higher self-esteem Some loss of social contact at market	Report by Development Alternatives Inc. 1979 (Donald P Jackson)
2. Sericulture in northeast Thailand (19) (AID) 1500 farm families in settlement areas of 8 provinces		X	X	X	X	X		Active in project design at local level; women train other women	85% of farm participants will be female; 50% of 210 trainees in 1978 were female	Increases in net family income average $150/year	New TransCentury January 1979
3. Pig raising in Rep. of Korea (47) (Save the Children Federation, Inc.) 50 women from home improvement clubs in 11 low-income villages		X	X	X	X	X		Village women decided on activity; most donor staff male	All participants are women Poorest women participate less	Increases in income; pigs bought for $35 sold for $198 aver. Initial lack of confidence turns to enthusiasm and skill	New TransCentury January 1979
4. Land conservation for small farmers in Lesotho (9) (AID/IBRD) 12,000 subsistence farmers of Thaba Bosiu area	X		X	X			X	Women "will be deeply involved ...in the implementation of this project	Women "play a predominant role in the field of agriculture" [b]	Increases in income not expected until 1982/83	Project paper Independent evaluation Oct. 1975
5. Water systems for rural communities in Kenya (8) (AID/CARE) about 300,000 remote rural dwellers, esp. women	X	X	X	X				Village women participate in org'n and mgt. of self-help community efforts	Project behind schedule; women will benefit	Reduction in women's drudgery of water collection [c]	New TransCentury June 1978 Evaluation 1976

[a] Numbers (in parentheses) refer to pages in Section III of Elliott and Sorsby (op. cit.)

[b] Details on women's roles are reported in Annex 2 of IBRD Appraisal Report

[c] Evaluation of impact on women's daily activities can be found in a CARE and IBRD report, October 1977. Neither of these was obtained for this review.

TABLE 2 (continued)

Project	Major inputs → / Intended beneficiaries	Physical infrastructure	Group mobilization	Training	Technical assistance	Credit	Other inputs	Research	Participation of women in project decision making	Access of women to project benefits	Effects of project on status of women	Source of information
6. Commercial sewing and baking, crafts, cosmetology in Costa Rica (22) (AID)	About 1,500 low-income women from barrios of San José	X	X	X	X				Trainees play major role in identifying problems, proposing solutions	All 181 trainees are women Req't of 6th grade educ. dropped to recruit poorer women	Increased incomes in industrial sewing group Improved housing Higher aspirations/esteem of husbands Group efforts	Project Evaluation Statement Nov. 1978
7. Skills training in El Salvador (24) automechanics, welding, sewing, tailoring, radio/TV repair, cooking, cosmetology (AID)	Approx. 1,000 poor urban residents in informal economic sector; about 45% are women			X			X		Not stated	2,400 trainees include 1,700 grads; % female not stated Courses are offered for women	Major empl't gains in auto mechanics & welding, least in cooking & cosmetology	Project Evaluation Statement April 1978; Final report May 1978
8. San Marcos Sewing Center in Philippines (49) (PVOs)	Poor rural women in Province of Balucan	X		X			X		Local women initiate idea for sewing center to build on local skills and need for income	All 20 workers at San Marcos are women; 45 more to be added.	Increased incomes from sale of children's clothing Sense of pride & accomplishment Innovation of working outside home	New TransCentury June 1978
9. Mohair, knitting, tie & dye cloth, poultry raising in Lesotho (10) (US Embassy)	Poor men & women ages 10-60 in 3 villages; pred. wives of men working in S. Africa mines			X	X		X		Village women initiate activities, request technical assis. from 50-100 women volunteers	Presumably all women	Generated income Eagerness of village women to participate Improved nutrition of children in nurseries	New TransCentury January 1979
10. Food production & processing in Upper Volta (14) (AID/DC)	Rural women in 60 villages with female extension agents		X	X	X	X			Village women encouraged to decide indiv. or group activities (veg. gardens, peanut oil presses, grain mills)	All women	Too soon to tell; project is behind schedule	Carolyn Barnes, "Strengthening Voltaic Women's Roles in Dev't." January 1978; New TransCentury June 1978

TABLE 2 (continued)

Project	Major inputs → / Intended beneficiaries	Physical infrastructure	Group mobilization	Training	Technical assistance	Credit	Other inputs	Research	Participation of women in project decision making	Access of women to project benefits	Effects of project on status of women	Source of information
11. Food processing, toy making, silk screen, crafts in Kenya (44) (PVOs)	Approx. 220 women in 4 villages		X		X				Self-help projects decided by rural women's groups	All beneficiaries are women	Income generated by four groups Growing self-confidance; opportunity to work together	New TransCentury January 1979
12. Agricultural production, animal raising, sewing, crafts, co-op stores in Bolivia (20) (AID)	Poor Aymara & Quecha speaking peasant women 18 years or older		X	X	X	X			Promoters are peasant women; staff all women	All beneficiaries are women	Increased incomes but limited market Women interested in organizing co-ops	New TransCentury June 1978
13. Sewing, candy production, floriculture in Paraguay (29) (AID)	1st year, 300 women &160 men from Asuncion & poor rural communities; 2nd year double with 70% rural			X					Not stated, although most staff are female	192 prof'ls trained; 62 volunteers, 520 beneficiares % female not stated	Not stated by sex Participants income increased in training; projects not yet self-supporting Enthusiastic	Project paper; Project Evaluation Statement Nov. 1978
14. Rural market women's co-ops in Nicaragua (28) (AID)	rural market women; agric'l producers, poultry, food processers, artisans (many are women)		X			X			Women occupy 4-6 of 6 top positions in each co-op; evaluation & advisory team all female	55% women in 12 credit unions with 1,400 members	Not stated	Project paper; Project Annual Review Dec. 1975
15. Credit & social services in Dominican Republic (52) handicrafts, goat raising, food crops (PVOs)	Rural women in the Sur & Region Central; 70 groups after 5 years		X	X	X	X	X		Village women initiate projects; almost all staff are female	All beneficiaries are women	Improved access to credit Awareness of social services	New TransCentury January 1979
16. Women's co-ops in Bangladesh (45) rice, seeds, oil processing, animals & poultry, silkworms (CARE)	Rural women in 4 thanas, esp. wives of small landowners		X	X	X	X	X		Village women initiate projects; mgt. by females	All beneficiaries are women	Increased incomes within purdah restrictions Group efforts	New TransCentury January 1979

TABLE 2 (continued)

Project	Major inputs → / Intended beneficiaries	Physical infrastructure	Group mobilization	Training	Technical assistance	Credit	Other inputs	Research	Participation of women in project decision making	Access of women to project benefits	Effects of project on status of women	Source of information
17. Handicrafts & poultry raising in Fiji (46) (PVOs)	85 girls in Methodist Handicraft & Farming School			X			X		Girls perform all functions of school farm, which is self-sustaining. All female staff.	All beneficiaries are female	Not stated	New TransCentury January 1979
18. Food crops & floriculture, co-op stores in Philippines (48) (PVOs)	poor rural women in 32 villages in Cavite Province		X	X	X	X			Trained leaders from villages consult local women about project plans	Village beneficiaries are women; also 76 leadership trainees	Increased incomes Leadership skills Attitude change from indifference to involvement	New TransCentury January 1979
19. Comprehensive secondary girls' school in Uganda (12) (AID)	girls of highschool age			X	X		X		Not stated	540 students are all female; % of teachers female not known	Increase in number of female graduates from secondary school	Project paper revision 1969; Project Annual Review 1971-72
20. Construction of 170 rural elementary schools & 40 teachers' hostels in Afghanistan (31) (AID)	Rural children and teachers; 15% of places in newly constructed schools reserved for girls	X							Not stated	Quota of 15% girls met in Parwan but not in southern zones; % teachers female not known	Not stated	Project Paper 1975; Evaluation cable May 1976
21. Literacy & community self-help in Ethiopia (5) (AID)	Adults aged 20-40 in selected urban & rural areas; majority female		X	X					Women involved in self-help projects; staff mostly male (4 of 24 group leaders female)	80% of 148 partic. in 6 communities responding to questionnaires were female	Not differentiated by sex Changing attitudes toward women's roles Improved health practices & diet Increased literacy, community partic., food production	Internal evaluation February 1977 New Transcentury June 1978
22. Radio programs for highland Indians in Guatemala (26) (AID)	16,000 illiterate highland Indians engaged in subsistence agriculture		X	X	X				Role of women not mentioned	% female not stated among 246 promoters, 9,000 recipients of info.	Not differentiated by sex Some change in agricultural knowledge, attitudes, practice	John R. Davidson, "The Basic Village Education Project in Guatemala," AID Sept. 1976; Project evaluation summary Jan. 1979.

TABLE 2 (continued)

Project	Major inputs → / Intended beneficiaries	Physical infrastructure	Group mobilization	Training	Technical assistance	Credit	Other inputs	Research	Participation of women in project decision making	Access of women to project benefits	Effects of project on status of women	Source of information
23. Community development in Sri Lanka (50) (PVOs)	Girls from slum areas of Colombo, esp. school dropouts; mothers and preschool children		X	X			X		Most staff are female	All beneficiaries are female	Improved health of children in day care center Some needlework skills with possible income-generating potential	New TransCentury January 1979
24. Audio cassettes on health & nutrition in Tanzania (11) (AID)	Rural women in 2 villages		X	X					Village women selected group leaders for project	All beneficiaries are female	Initiated self-help activities in health, nutrition, gardening, crafts Self-awareness & pride increased	Joyce Stanley with Alisa Lundeen, "Audio Cassette Listening Forums" (AID, n.d.)
25. Research on women in Ghanaian Development (6) (AID)	Nat'l Council on Women & Development; ultimately, urban & rural poor women		X					X	Research conducted by Nat'l Council on Women & Development; women's orgs. get grants for pilot projects	All beneficiaries will be women	Not evaluated	Project Paper
26. Leadership training for PVOs in Ghana (7) (AID)	Key members of women's organizations in all 9 regions; ultimately, urban & rural poor women			X					Workshops planned by Ghana Association of Women	All beneficiaries will be women	Some participants organized local workshops Some cottage industries and handicraft marketing	New TransCentury January 1979
27. Seminars on women in Upper Volta (13) (AID)	Fed'n of Voltaic Women and other prof'l women in Ouagadougou; ultimately, all Voltaic women			X				X	Women organized 2 seminars on role of women	All beneficiaries will be women	Not evaluated	New TransCentury June 1978
28. National Women's Development Academy in Bangladesh (16) (AID)	3600 village women trainees at NWDA; 16,000 rural women beneficiaries	X		X	X			X	Project planned by Nat'l Women's Org.; managed & staffed by women	All beneficiaries will be women	154 women trained by NWDA earn salaries as motivators; 180 women placed in jobs thru exchange; About 10,000 rural women received some training	New TransCentury Jan. 1979; Project Evaluation Statement Jan. 1979; Sallie Craig Huber, "Personal impressions.." AID/Dacca Jan. 1979

TABLE 2 (continued)

Project	Major inputs → / Intended beneficiaries	Physical infrastructure	Group mobilization	Training	Technical assistance	Credit	Other inputs	Research	Participation of women in project decision making	Access of women to project benefits	Effects of project on status of women	Source of information
29. Citizenship training for girls in Thailand (51) (PVOs)	Girls aged 15-24 from low-income rural & urban families			X					Planned by Girl Guides Assoc. & staffed by women	Almost all girls; some boys added by local request	Not evaluated	New TransCentury June 1978
30. Leadership training for volunteers in Latin America (19) (AID)	Middle & upper-class women; ultimately, low-income people			X					Training organized & managed by League of Women Voters	All beneficiaries will be women	More benefits to middle class volunteers than to poor women	End of Project Evaluation d/
31. Leadership training for volunteers in Costa Rica (23) (AID)	Middle & upper-class citizens, mainly women; ultimately, low-income people			X					Training organized & managed by women's org. in Costa Rica	All beneficiaries will be women	Increased consciousness & political participation	Evaluation memo 1978 d/
32. Pespire Valley integrated development in Honduras (27) (AID)	Small scale, near subsistence farmers in 10 village clusters in Pespire Valley	X	X	X	X	X	X		Not clear; women "will be" about 50% of community council members for local decision making	Participation in diverse activities not specified by sex, although women assumed to participate	Increased incomes for 19 women employed in mango puree co-op, though future uncertain	Project Evaluation Summary d/

d/ These evaluations could not be obtained for this review; information drawn from these reports is summarized in the Elliott and Sorsby project profiles

of the CARE/AID water project in Kenya. In general, however, the women-specific projects are significantly smaller in scale than are the mixed projects that have the potential, at least, of reaching larger numbers of female beneficiaries.

The treatment of women's roles as summarized in Table 2 is analyzed under three headings: the extent of women's participation in project decision making, either as project staff or as members of the client group; the extent of women's direct access to project benefits; and the immediate and long-term effects of the project on women's social and economic status.[10/]

Participation in decision making refers to women's involvement in project design, implementation, and evaluation. It is useful to distinguish here between the role of women as staff members in donor agencies and recipient institutions (service providers) that administer the project, and the role of women as intended beneficiaries. First, to what extent and in what capacity are women represented among staff members in donor and recipient agencies responsible for decisions regarding project planning and management? Second, does the decision-making process within donor and recipient agencies reflect an institutionalized concern for the interest of girls and women as beneficiaries? Third, to what extent and in what capacity do women from the class of intended beneficiaries participate in decisions of what to do and how to do it? How are their needs and priorities determined and reflected in project design and

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10/ For other approaches to measuring women's participation (or "popular participation") in development projects, see (among others) American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service (1975); Cohen and Uphoff (1977), pp. 27-58; Dulansey (1977); Mickelwait, et al. (1976); Palmer (1979).

implementation? To what extent do women from the client group participate in project monitoring and evaluation?

Access to project benefits refers to the extent to which girls and women are represented among direct recipients of goods and services such as vocational training, agricultural credit, or membership in cooperative societies. It is important to distinguish here between direct access to project benefits, and indirect access in which it is assumed that females benefit as members of families from activities in which males participate. Numbers and proportions of females among beneficiaries can generally be obtained from project records pertaining to direct client contacts: farmers contacted by extension agents, children enrolled in school, workers on a construction project, recipients of bank loans, and so on. The identification of beneficiaries within this context does not prejudge the question of whether they actually benefited, however, nor does it assume that those without direct access to project benefits did not gain (or lose) in some obvious or subtle ways.

The effects of the project on the status of women refer to the various ways in which women's position in the family and the community may be affected by the projects, either in absolute terms or relative to males. Some changes may be positive and others negative; some intended and others unplanned. Immediate effects should be distinguished from long-term impacts where possible, although most formal evaluations are undertaken too soon to pick up long-term impacts.

In the discussion that follows, the Women in Development project evaluations included in Table 2 are scrutinized for the adequacy of their treatment of these three dimensions of female participation and for the "lessons learned" regarding the achievement of their goals.

Participation of Women in Project Decision Making

The role of women staff and beneficiaries in design, implementation, and evaluation is easier to deduce from the New TransCentury project profiles than from AID documents. In compiling its directory of Women in Development projects, New TransCentury asked donor agencies the following questions, among others:[11/]

> 13. We would like information about the staff people involved with this project. First, please list the title -- such as Project Director, nutrition educator, secretary, etc. Then, for each position you have listed, record the total number of people who hold that position, how many of these people are women, how many of these people are host country nationals, and how many of these people are expatriates.
>
> 19. We are interested in learning how women were involved in the planning, initiation and design of this project. (Please describe in detail and distinguish between female staff and female beneficiary involvement.)
>
> 20. We are interested in learning how women were involved in the management and control of this project; that is, in determining the direction of the project and in making the decisions involved with implementing the project. (Again, please distinguish between female staff and female beneficiary involvement.)

As an example of the type of information elicited, the New TransCentury directory profile of an AID-funded project aimed at modernizing sericulture practice and raising farm incomes among 1500 families in settlement areas of northeast Thailand (#2 in Table 2) includes the following:

11/ Directory of Projects Involving Women (Washington, D.C.: New TransCentury Foundation, Secretariat for Women in Development, July 1978 and January 1979).

> Target group involvement: In rural areas, besides the role of hard-working agricultural laborers, women carry out most of the principle tasks connected with sericulture. ... Females participating in this project are playing a key role, first as recipients of the training received and subsequently as trainers in assisting in upgrading the skills of women members of their village group. ...
>
> Female staff: Project design team included women officials from the governmental Public Welfare Department and USAID woman Assistant Project Officer with women mission/Women in Development Coordinator active in project review. Efforts of female staff include recommendations to bring women more fully into local level project discussions, using women already in sericulture training to persuade other women to take more action roles, employing outstanding women to work in Settlement management positions. Additionally, three out of ten on-site sericulture supervisors in the project are women. Female staff go out to the selected sites during the feasibility study.
>
> Staff profile: All nationals except for AID Project Officer (Male); 1 male Government of Thailand Assistant Project Director; 1 male Government of Thailand Project Manager; 2 Governmental Project Coordinators (1 Female); 1 female AID Assistant Project Officer; 10 Governmental Project Supervisors (3 Females); 70 Governmental Agricultural Extension Workers (1 Female) (New TransCentury, Jan. 1979)

AID documents are less likely to include such detailed information, at least in the summaries that are most accessible, because questions regarding female participation are usually not asked.

The typical project model in Table 2, particularly the village women's income-generating projects and nonformal education schemes, tries to achieve a high degree of participation in decision making by intended beneficiaries on a self-help basis. Women are encouraged -- in consultation with staff members who act as catalysts -- to identify their needs and priorities in group discussions, to decide jointly on activities that will address their most pressing problems, and to request appropriate training, credit, technical assistance, or other

goods or services from the administrative agency.[12/] Beneficiaries are also frequently encouraged to participate in project evaluations. Two projects providing physical infrastructures for agricultural production (land conservation for small farmers in Lesotho #4, water systems for rural communities in Kenya #5) involve female beneficiaries in project implementation but not in identification or design. Projects categorized as improving welfare through community organization (#25-31) elicit very high levels of female participation throughout the project cycle because they are planned and implemented by women's organizations. Among the remaining projects, the role of women in decision making cannot be ascertained.[13/]

What can we learn about women's participation in project decision making from a review of available documents? In the absence of a systematic approach to the question in the various reports, and in view of the small number of projects under review, the "lessons" must remain tentative:

1. Female participation in decision making at both staff and beneficiary levels is higher when projects are administered through women's sections of government ministries or PVOs or through national women's associations than through general PVOs or government agencies. The village-based income-generating activities for peasant women in Bolivia, for example (#12), are administered by the Rural Women's

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12/ Project numbers 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 21, 24 in Tables 1 and 2.

13/ Skills training in El Salvador #7, income-generating activities in Paraguay #13, school construction in Uganda #19 and Afghanistan #20, radio programs for farmers in Guatemala #22, integrated rural development in Honduras #32.

Promotion Division of the Bolivian National Community Development Service. "The Women's Division works to assure that women are active participants in these projects at both the decision-making and action levels" (New TransCentury, June 1978). The community organization project in Bangladesh (#28), implemented by the National Women's Development Academy, was "completely planned by the National Women's Organization [Bangladesh Jatiyo Mahila Sangstha] which is all women, and approved by the Bangladesh Government Women's Affairs Division (comprised of some women) and the Planning Commission (comprised mostly of men)" (New Trans-Century, Jan. 1979). Virtually all staff members are female in those projects extending funding to women's organizations, many of which rely extensively on volunteers.

In contrast, women are less fully represented among the paid staff of some PVOs or government agencies without a specific focus on women, even when women are the primary or sole beneficiaries. The Ethiopian nonformal community education project (#21), with approximately 80 percent of beneficiaries female, had a largely male staff which included only four women among 24 group leaders (New TransCentury, June 1978). The Thailand sericulture project (#2), with a majority of intended training recipients female, included only three women among 10 government sericulture supervisors and only one woman among 70 government agricultural extension officers working with the project (New Trans-

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14/ e.g., Lesotho National Council of Women #9, Mujeres en Desarrollo Inc. in Dominican Republic #15, Sri Lanka Women's Conference #23, Ghana Assembly of Women #26, Federation of Voltaic Women #27, Bangladesh Jatiyo Mahila Sangstha #28, Girl Guides Association of Thailand #29. The Lesotho project, in particular, relied extensively on volunteers for training rural women in income-generating activities -- from 50 to 100 depending on their availablity.

Century, Jan. 1979). A woman-specific income-generating scheme in Kenya (#11) included only seven women among 20 consultants, even though specific attempts were made to utilize women wherever possible; the Korean women's pig-raising scheme (#3) included one female staff member among six.

Although women's participation in project planning and implementation could in most cases be increased by channeling funds through women's organizations or women's components of government ministries or PVOs, this strategy bears a cost. As noted earlier, women-specific projects tend, on the whole, to be smaller in scale than those aimed at classes of beneficiaries such as farm families, out-of-school youth, or other social categories not limited to females.

2. When women's programs are affiliated with larger male-dominated institutions, decision making on major policy issues tends to be transferred to men in the parent institution. The Women's Cooperative for palm oil purchasing and food marketing in the Cameroon (#1), for example, affiliated with the Nso Cooperative Union -- a secondary level cooperative with sole marketing rights for cocoa and coffee (men's cash crops) -- in order to obtain capital funds and technical assistance. According to one evaluation,

> The Cooperative Union auditors perform yearly audits for the Women's Cooperative, and have also given it financial support, in the form of three staff salaries. This relationship, plus the cultural issue of strong male domination, has resulted in what appears to be a transfer of a certain amount of decision-making authority to the union management.
>
> A particular example of this was the decision to purchase a pickup truck for the transport of member produce from the villages to the cooperative warehouse. The women were against acquiring the vehicle because they had no experience with one and felt renting these services would be cheaper. The men from the union, however, were in favor of the purchase and talked the women into buying it.(Jackson, 1979, p. 7).

A similar decision-making pattern can occur when the women's component is formed from the top down by a male-dominated institution. In Bolivia (#12), although the method used to integrate women in Bolivia National Community Development Service projects was determined and implemented by female staff at the local level, "Overall guidelines in terms of cooperative projects and infrastructure [are] set by men at [the] national level" (New TransCentury, June 1978). To combat this tendency, special efforts will have to be made in all projects to ensure that women play a major decision-making role in the parent institution as well as in day-to-day project implementation.

3. The participation of female beneficiaries in project planning and implementation is higher when projects are located in communities with indigenous formal or informal women's associations, or with a strong tradition of community self-help. Even given these preconditions, however, women may be hesitant to express their concerns. Although the Korean pig-raising project (#3) worked with women who were already members of home improvement clubs engaged in a rice savings scheme and other community ventures, "The women lacked confidence in the early stages of the project" (New TransCentury, Jan. 1979). In the audio-cassette listening forum project in Tanzania (#24) which recruited leaders and participants from village meetings of national women's association (Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania), the first group discussions of women's priorities "...were stiff and formal, but as the sessions continued each participant seemed to realize that the problems she was identifying were also being heard and felt by others. The

atmosphere became increasingly open and informal" (Stanley, n.d., p. 29). A local tradition of community cooperation (Harambee) enhanced the participation of women in village committees of the Kenya rural water project (#5) as well as legitimizing their contributions of cash and labor. Women's opinions were also actively solicited in this project as a component of the evaluation process. In general, then, working through indigenous community groups in which women play an active role offers an excellent means of mobilizing female decision making in project design and implementation.

4. Within village women's associations or cooperatives, the pattern of female decision making tends to reflect the male power structure of the community. Although most evaluations do not address this issue directly, a report on the Nso Women's Cooperative in Cameroon states that "The wives of the chief and his elders were the leaders of both village groups interviewed. These leaders are often chosen on the basis of their respect within the community and their ability to control a group of women" (Jackson, 1979, p. 6). (For an additional discussion of this issue in another cultural context, see Dixon, 1978, pp. 139-145.) This tendency may be useful in acquiring support for the project from village elites, but disfunctional from the point of view of involving the poorest women in project decisions.

5. When rural or urban women from the target group of low-income families play an active role in group discussions to set project priorities, they are most likely to identify economic need as their most pressing problem. In the Cameroon (#1), this concern focused on the irregular supply and high cost of palm oil (a staple of local diets)

and on the uncertain market and low returns on marketing food crops. In other projects, women requested assistance in finding jobs or in undertaking individual or group income-generating (or saving) activities:[15/]

> Korea #3 (pig-raising): "The women's home improvement clubs had expressed a great interest in increasing income in other than the traditional areas of farming and seaweed raising and processing" (New TransCentury, Jan. 1979)
>
> Costa Rica #6 (vocational training in San Jose): "The women in the León XIII program defined their most pressing need as economic, and requested training which would lead to actual employment" (PES Nov. 20, 1978, p. 7)
>
> Philippines #8 (sewing center): "Target group initiated project idea through expressed need for additional sources of income to upgrade families' lives and recognition that skills in needle-craft already existed among them" (New TransCentury, June 1978)
>
> Lesotho #9 (mohair, tie & dye, poultry): "Because essentially the majority of the able-bodied males are out of the country, Lesotho women feel both an urgent need and a strong sense of duty to ... sustain themselves economically" (New TransCentury, Jan. 1979)

A second concern, expressed particularly strongly in several African projects, is women's heavy domestic and agricultural burdens. The Cameroon Nso Women's Palm Oil Cooperative (#1) originated in an earlier experience with group purchasing of mechanical corn grinders to solve the problem of extremely labor-intensive hand grinding methods. In early meetings of the nonformal education groups in Tanzania (#24) some women expressed particular anger at their heavy burdens compared with men and their lack of control over money:

> Women work just as hard as the men. Yet, when we return from our work in the field, the men rest and we must care for the

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15/ See also Bolivia #12, Dominican Republic #15, Bangladesh #16, among others.

> children, wash the clothes and prepare the man's food. Where is our time for resting?
>
> The money is spent on drinking, not on us or on the children. We share the work, or do more of it, but he takes all the money telling us it's his -- that he earned it. It is a joke. (Stanley. n.d., p. 30)

These consciousness-raising sessions resulted in concrete plans for income-generating activities and community improvements that formed a basis for a sophisticated nonformal educational program using audio-cassettes in group sessions.

Access of Women to Project Benefits

The second dimension of female participation refers to the extent to which girls and women have direct access to the goods and services provided by the project. New TransCentury asked the following questions in compiling its directory:

> 16. How is this project designed to benefit women? Rather, what were the unique needs of women that this project was designed to address?
>
> 17. Please describe the major functions or activities of this project. That is, how is this project structured to carry out your objectives?
>
> 18. With which of these project activities are women actually involved? How?

Among the 22 women-specific projects in Table 2, women by definition have direct access to benefits. The question of access in these cases relates both to constraints on the overall participation of women as reflected in the numbers of clients, and to the selectivity of those who do participate according to their socioeconomic characteristics.

For those projects with or without a specific women's component, we need to know in addition what percentage of those who have direct access to goods and services such as loans or training are female.

In three of the four projects for which the percentages can be ascertained at least approximately, there appears to be some slippage between the anticipated representation of females as defined in project papers and their actual participation as measured in project annual reviews or other documents. In the Thailand sericulture scheme (#2), 85 percent of expected participants were reported in one document to be female, whereas another reported actual enrollments in a 1978

sericulture training course of 103 men and 107 women.[16/] The Nicaragua credit cooperatives for market women and agricultural producers, food processers, and artisans included 55 percent women among their 1,400 members at the time of review -- a significant accomplishment, but less than anticipated in a project titled "Rural Market Women's Cooperatives." The primary school construction project in Afghanistan (#20) was unable in some regions to fulfill its quota of 15 percent of spaces in new schools reserved for girls. Only in the nonformal education project in Ethiopia (#21) did the actual percentage of female participants (80 percent of those responding to a questionnaire) appear to meet or exceed expectations.

Six projects did not report percentages of female beneficiaries in documents retrieved for this analysis. Two are large rural infrastructure projects aimed at increasing agricultural productivity -- soil conservation in Lesotho (#4) and rural water supply in Kenya (#5) -- for which figures on female participation may be available in World Bank documents cited in Table 2 but are not reported in AID summaries. Two are vocational training programs. In El Salvador (#7), although women were 45 percent of the target group of marginal urban service workers, data from the followup questionnaires of trainees showing their current employment status and incomes are not disaggregated by sex. Similarly, the Paraguay project (#13) included specific targets for intended trainees (300 women and 160 men in the first year) but not actual female participation rates in the Project Evaluation Summary (Nov. 1978).

16/ USAID, Thailand Sericulture/Settlements Project: Joint Mid-Term Evaluation, Jan. 1979.

The final two projects are the agricultural radio programs for peasant farmers in Guatemala (#22) and the integrated rural development project of Pespire Valley in Honduras (#32). The Guatemala radio campaign was aimed at two populations: illiterate highland Indians in subsistence agriculture and Spanish-speaking Latinos in the southeast. Symbolized by the radio messages called "Let's Talk, Mr. Farmer," the complex experimental scheme to change agricultural knowledge, attitudes, and practices did not once identify in a major summary document whether women participated as farmers, radio listeners, forum discussants, community change agents, or questionnaire respondents (Davidson, 1976). Women's role as agricultural producers appears to be completely ignored. The Pespire Valley scheme in Honduras included explicit references to a women's component in the Project Paper (women were to make up 50 percent of community council members in the 10 village clusters, for example), but according to the Elliott and Sorsby summary of the evaluation, the major income-generating activity for women was a cooperative mango puree plant employing 19 women during harvest, with an uncertain future.[17/]

The tentative lessons that can be gleaned from the documents regarding conditions that facilitate or impede women's direct access to project activities include the following:

6. Women have more direct access to project benefits when planners explicitly recognize the prevailing sexual division of labor and design activities that build on women's work and enable them to control their earnings. In the Cameroon, for example (#1), men

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17/ The Project Evaluation Summary cited in Elliott and Sorby p. III-27 could not be obtained for this review.

traditionally cultivated coffee and cocoa while women cultivated food crops. Whereas an effective cooperative marketing system was available for both coffee and cocoa, food crop marketing (mostly corn, beans, and potatoes) was left to small itinerant traders (Jackson, 1979, p. 3). It was to solve this problem of unreliable markets and low returns that the members of the women's palm oil purchasing cooperative decided to organize a marketing system of their own, selling food primarily to the plantations from which they purchased palm oil and using the same transport for both transactions. A plan for marketing food crops through the male-dominated coffee or cocoa cooperatives would undoubtedly result in lower food crop production as women lost control over their earnings. The Thailand sericulture project (#2) was explicitly designed to reach girls and women who carried out most of the principle tasks connected with traditional methods of sericulture. In the Philippines sewing project (#8), women recognized that their needlecraft skills formed a natural basis on which to build income-generating activities.

The strategy of building on women's work reduces the likelihood that resources will be co-opted by men, but the danger always remains that once an enterprise becomes profitable, men will be interested in taking it over. In the Gambia, for example, about 4,000 women were successfully growing onions as a cash crop when male farmers decided for the first time to ask the government for similar assistance (Tinker, 1979, p. 13). Although their onion schemes were apparently not successful (in part because their wives refused to work on them), the importance of control over earnings as an incentive to production remains central.

7. Project activities that fit with prevailing cultural norms and the allocation of household responsibilities attract higher rates of female participation by reducing resistance from the women themselves, from their husbands or fathers, and from the community at large.

Although this approach is a conservative one, it appears to offer a valuable means of providing larger numbers of girls and women with direct access to benefits, while at the same time acting as a sort of "wedge" with which to introduce more comprehensive changes in a phased sequence. The Bolivian income-generating project for peasant women (#12) is a good example:

> Women are ... receptive to certain types of participation. What we attempt to do is build upon those areas of participation which are acceptable in order to generate others. Their husbands tend to feel the same, in that they support activities which don't detract from normal time usage, chores, etc. (New TransCentury, June 1978).

Similar experiences are reported in Bangladesh, the Philippines, and Costa Rica. In Bangladesh,

> One of the problems of the rural woman in Bangladesh is that she has no opportunity to earn an independent income and thus contribute financially to the welfare of her family. Because of the system of Purdah, she is often isolated in her compound with little chance to learn income generating skills, gain educational qualifications or participate with other women in social activities (New TransCentury, Jan. 1979).

In its organization of women's cooperatives, the Bangladesh project (#16) worked within these restrictions by offering women new possibilities for earning independent incomes in rice cultivation, seed distribution, oil pressing, etc. while providing an acceptable mode of association with other women. Women in the Philippines (#18) expressed similar concerns:

> Income-generating women's projects to be engaged in [poultry, pig fattening, mushrooms, floriculture] are home-based and small scale entrepreneurial pursuits since the majority of rural Filippino women express a desire to combine their family-household roles with new, compatible means of attaining higher levels of living (New TransCentury, Jan. 1979).

In San José, Costa Rica (#6), women reported that "... their husbands did not want them to leave the immediate area to seek employment or training because of family and household obligations" (Project Evaluation Summary, Nov. 1978). Participants decided to locate an industrial sewing facility and baking cooperative within their residential area; evaluators recommended that "An orientation of the project be provided to husbands and fathers of participants."

Some constraints can be overcome simply by redesigning projects to include child-care or dormitory facilities or by adapting the timing or duration of training and employment to women's daily and seasonal round of work. The Costa Rican women, identifying the complete lack of child care as a major impediment to their participation in training sessions, established a temporary facility with plans for a permanent one. Village women in Bangladesh were able to attend training classes in silkworm production when a dormitory for non-commuting students was constructed. Evaluators of the El Salvador vocational training program recommended that certain courses be offered in smaller communities by mobile teams rather than in larger towns or cities requiring extended absences from home. Policies such as these would certainly facilitate women's access to services. In the long run, of course, efforts would be directed toward distributing domestic responsibilities among all household members to reduce the weight of women's double burden in the home.

8. Women's direct access to project goods and services is frequently limited by customary or legal restrictions on their right to resources such as land, credit, or schooling. Forming the core of a complex system of social stratification based on age and sex (among other attributes), these structural and cultural barriers can sometimes be penetrated with the permission of higher status individuals or groups if the latter can be mobilized to support the project.

Lack of independent land rights can be a severe impediment. Women in the Cameroon cooperative, for instance, receive permission for land use through their husbands who petition on the women's behalf to the village chief. In the land conservation scheme for subsistence farmers of Thaba Bosiu in Lesotho (#4), women's access to training in animal husbandry or to decision-making positions on range management committees is restricted by the traditional practice of granting grazing land at the age of majority to every Basotho male. In Upper Volta (#10),

> At the village level men must be consulted and support gained if women are to participate [in new income-generating activities], because a male head of household usually has authority over the allocation of time and labor of its female members. Also, if the land is needed for an activity since males control access rights to land their consent must be obtained. Further, the involvement of men may be necessary to undertake activities, such as construction of buildings and fences, since according to social norms certain functions are performed by men (Barnes, n.d., pp. 6-7).

Projects frequently require that credit be granted to males even when production is based on women's work. In the Thailand sericulture project, for example, each family is entitled to a loan through the Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives to get the project started. Although the available documents do not say

whether women can apply as individuals, the family unit is usually represented in formal transactions by the male household head.

Even the basic right to receive certain kinds of training may be denied to women by local tradition. In the Upper Volta project, female regional coordinators and national staff in the domestic economy units are under the direct supervision of men; "hence, the consent of these men is essential for project success. For instance, these officers have to be willing to permit the female staff to participate in training sessions" (Barnes, n.d., p. 7; emphasis added).

The most extreme example, however, comes from Afghanistan (#20), where only 10 percent of primary school students in rural areas are girls. Most rural parents refuse to send their daughters to a co-educational school, yet two provinces have no village schools for girls at all. According to the Project Paper, "... traditional Afghan values dictate segregation of the sexes. ... Segregation is more strongly enforced as children approach puberty, resulting in more female dropouts" (Jan. 1975, p. 43).

In sum, tactics may be needed in many projects to persuade those in power -- village leaders, employers, parents -- to "permit" girls or women to transcend the traditional restrictions on their mobility, with the long range goal of building an independent power base from which to press for more basic cultural and structural transformations.

9. The poorest women in the community typically have less access to project goods and services than those who are relatively better off. Although this is not surprising in view of the findings from most development projects, the situation is sometimes exacerbated by setting unnecessary criteria for eligibility. Although the Costa

Rican vocational training project was aimed at women in low-income families of San José, the original requirements were set at a 6th grade education. Realizing that this excluded many poor women, organizers subsequently dropped the requirement. In the Korean pig-raising project, although women were selected from home improvement clubs on the basis of their low income and their expressed interest in the project, "Not enough of the very poor families in the communities were involved. The initial groups participating tended to be a little better off and more highly motivated" (New TransCentury, Jan. 1979). By working through formal women's groups, organizers were able to capitalize on the women's decision-making skills but bypassed the poorest, most isolated women who remained outside the structure of community associations. The poorest village women in the Cameroon were also largely excluded from the palm oil and food marketing cooperatives, in part apparently because some could not buy a share or the membership fee (Jackson, 1979, p. 9). Reaching the poorest of the poor may require bypassing traditional community associations or informational networks, an approach that raises additional difficulties of recruitment and communication.

10. Shortages of volunteers and of trained female staff pose major obstacles to the recruitment of more women as beneficiaries. Although such shortages are likely to pervade most types of development projects, women-specific projects are particularly hard hit because they tend to rely more heavily on volunteers due to funding limitations. In addition, women working in the field as volunteers or as paid project staff members face special problems.

The first issue is the heavy reliance of some projects on volunteers. Although several evaluations report high levels of enthusiasm among volunteers, others hint at their lower incentive to work (e.g., Lesotho #9). In either case, the capacity of projects to reach large numbers of beneficiaries is constrained by the number of volunteers. The Costa Rican vocational training program, for example, "Currently has more requests for training from government agencies than it can provide, and thus the possibility of reaching the desired number of women exists, but is limited by the current number of available volunteer trainers (9) and research aides(3)" (Project Evaluation Summary, No. 1978, p. 2).

Although the use of volunteers permits women's projects to operate on a larger scale than would be possible if all staff positions were paid, the practice raises serious questions regarding the motivation of governments or donor agencies to provide serious funding for women's projects. It is doubtful that a large-scale project aimed at training men in agricultural techniques or industrial skills would expect male staff members to contribute their labor. The funding of staff positions on women's projects would also permit more active recruitment of women trainees from the target population of beneficiaries, rather than relying on volunteers from a different social stratum. Grants to PVOs for leadership training of volunteers (e.g., Ghana #25 and #26, Upper Volta #27, Latin America #30, Costa Rica #31) tend to support middle and upper-class women who may or may not translate their training into genuine advocacy for the poor.

The second issue relates to the working conditions of paid female staff, especially those working as promoters in rural areas. The

model of training rural women to teach other rural women, clearly a cost-effective approach to community development, is followed by a number of the projects in Table 2. In Bolivia (#12), promoters are peasant women trained by the National Community Development Service and assigned to communities based on the type of project solicited. The promoters are all literate although the female community leaders may not be. One of the major problems with the program, according to one evaluation, is that the personnel live under difficult, isolated conditions with low salaries.

The social isolation of outsiders in villages is often acute. In Afghanistan, for example,

> Qualified teachers have been reluctant to work in remote rural areas where motivation is difficult to maintain and urban incentives are non-existent. ... There have been no houses for rural teachers. Social isolation from the community and local politics, and reinforcement of social distance between villages and teacher, has been commonplace (Project Paper, Jan. 1975, p. 4).

Women teachers in Afghanistan, who are more likely to come from towns or from Kabul than from rural backgrounds, are especially reluctant to seek rural jobs. "Women are unlikely to be allowed, nor would they voluntarily seek to live alone without relatives to protect them, and thereby diminish the possibility of marriage." Women's reluc tance to teach in rural areas increases the reluctance of parents to send their daughters to school, for most parents outside Kabul will not send their girls to school unless they are taught by a woman.

Even when workers are selected for training by women within their own village and return there to work, conditions are often difficult. Although promoters in a community organization project in Bangladesh (#28) were trained at district centers near their homes,

> Lack of appointment letters for field workers and irregular receipt of salaries is shattering the morale of the workers. Perhaps this is one cause of the resignations of field workers who are seeking more job security in other development programs (Huber, 1978, p. 1)

Lack of communication of field workers with central offices is an additional source of frustration for many. Whereas the Bangladesh income-generating cooperative project (#16) cites as one basis of its success the close supervision and contact with beneficiaries deriving from the location of field offices in the same geographic areas, other evaluations refer to the low levels of communication between central offices and rural areas (e.g., Dominican Republic #15, Bolivia #12) which result in a lack of "fit" between centrally made policy decisions and local needs, as well as in the sense of isolation of field workers. In many cultures, women field workers face additional restrictions on their ability to travel freely either between villages or to urban centers.

In addition, female extension agents are often expected to perform too many diffuse functions with inadequate training in any of them. Domestic economy workers in Upper Volta, for example (#10), are supposed to promote and supervise both agricultural and nonagricultural production activities for women, as well as home economics, hygiene, health, literacy, and other functions. Village promoters in Bangladesh (#28) learn nutrition, family planning, home management, cooperative principles, leadership skills, and adult literacy in the district training centers. Combined with a general negligence of followup training, the lack of a sharp focus to the promoter's role appears to contribute to feelings of inadequacy. In many cases, these problems could be overcome by promoting improved working conditions such as

higher salaries (at least equivalent to what male workers earn in similar capacities), more followup training permitting workers to discuss their experiences and problems with one another and with their supervisors, and safe transportation and housing facilities for women workers. All of these could be built into the project design.

Effects on the Status of Women

This dimension refers to the immediate and long-term consequences of the project -- both positive and negative -- to women in the project area, whether or not they are (or were) direct participants. Both absolute changes in the status of women, and changes in their position relative to men in the family or household and the community, are key issues here.

Adequate answers to these questions depend of course on the completion of systematic evaluations. Although the Elliott and Sorsby report intended to include those Women in Development projects that have been evaluated, it is clear both from their project profiles and from further examination of the documents that many "evaluations" are drawn from sources outlining expected benefits. In the case of AID, these are sometimes End of Project Status (EOPS) statements in Project Papers; in the case of PVOs, these are sometimes informal observations in which the method of review or substantiating evidence is not described.

In its questionnaire regarding project impacts on women, New TransCentury asks:

> 21. Has any project evaluation been done to date? If so, what results did you expect? What results were achieved? How did you go about measuring this?
>
> 22. In order to participate or benefit from the project, what sacrifices or accommodations did the women beneficiaries have to make? What tasks did not get done? Was their routine complicated by additional tasks?
>
> 23. In retrospect, so far, what parts of this project have been especially successful? What has worked out best?

For 13 of the 33 projects listed in Table 2, evaluations had either not yet been conducted or were not cited in available

summaries,[18] although one did include plans for doing so (#15). Most of these summaries nevertheless refer in a general way to project effects such as increased earnings or a growing sense of enthusiasm and self-confidence among participants.

Among the rest, almost all of the evaluation documents examined are inadequate for our purposes in two respects. First, they tend to concentrate overwhelmingly on measuring project outputs in relation to purposes -- the number of persons enrolled in a training program, the number of members of a cooperative, the number of households connected to water supplies -- while ignoring the larger issue of how the project affects the everyday lives of beneficiaries. As such, they really measure participation rather than impact. Second, among those projects that are not women-specific, data on participation or on impact are rarely disaggregated by sex. Thus we have little idea of the consequences to females either in absolute terms or relative to males.

Several vocational skills and nonformal education projects offer good examples of these approaches. The vocational skills program for low-income people in Paraguay (#13) provides data on the number of coordinators, promoters, course participants, and income-generating projects started, without reference either to numbers of men and women or to the impact of these activities on their lives (Project Evaluation Summary, Nov. 1978). Three projects with sophisticated evaluation techniques that include baseline data and followup measures do not disaggregate their data by sex. El Salvador (#7) reports the employment and income status of 60 percent of over 1,000 graduates from vocational training classes

[18] Project numbers 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 17, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29.

a year later according to subject matter, but not by sex; Ethiopia (#21) includes indicators of changes in attitudes and behavior in literacy, nutrition, health, family planning, etc. without reference to gender; and Guatemala (#22) includes a wide range of logistical data on numbers of promoters trained and communities reached by radio programs, including measures of changes in agricultural knowledge and practices of farmers in experimental and control villages, but without specifying differences between men and women.

Two women-specific projects do include interesting information on project impacts. Costa Rica (#6) reports "a measurable increase" in the economic level of women trained in industrial sewing, an improvement of housing conditions, increased access to social services, and important social effects:

> Participants in the motivation/adaptation training repeatedly expressed that they now have higher aspirations, more self-awareness, a better self image; are able to identify problems and work on solutions; enjoy working in a group; and that there is a definite change of attitude on the part of their husbands (PES Nov. 1978, p. 9).

(Conclusions are not substantiated by quantitative data, however, which were to be obtained from followup questionnaires). The Tanzania audio-cassette nonformal education project (#24) includes both pre- and post-tests of women in participating and control villages which, combined with evaluation seminars and unstructured observations, provides information on changes in a variety of attitudes and behaviors (Stanley, n.d.)

Others are more general in their discussion of project impacts, at least in their report summaries. An evaluation of the comprehensive Lesotho soil conservation scheme (#4), noting among other things that "Experience thus far has shown no indication of any groups either

resisting or being harmed by the project," adds that "With the possible exception of profits to some villages from fish ponds, it has not yet caused any increase in rural income and with the exception of a few households, will not bring about any appreciable increase during the projected six-year life of the Project" (Evaluation Report, Oct. 1975, Annex V). The CARE-assisted Kenya rural water project evaluation (#5) focuses primarily on the administrative and managerial problems of meeting the target numbers of water beneficiaries, pointing in addition to the general absence of a significant self-help component in most community efforts. Although the EOPS of the Project Paper anticipates major benefits to women (less time spent fetching water, more time for child care, family betterment, agricultural production), the evaluators conclude that "CARE's overweening preoccupation with the benefits of these projects upon women and ... upon agricultural productivity and health is unjustified," in part because the assumption that women will use the time productively is untested, and in part because additional technical inputs would be required to achieve these purposes that are not forthcoming (Biggs and Schott, 1976:32).[19/]

Given the uneven quality and quantity of impact data, the task of gleaning lessons from evaluation summaries becomes even more precarious. Nevertheless, the following generalizations are offered on the basis of the evidence available for these 32 projects:

11. The social impact of projects is magnified when women are organized for group action, particularly when they were previously

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19/ A report by CARE (Oct. 1977) on project impacts on women was not available for this review.

confined to their households or were unused to collective activity. The process of getting together appears to have stimulated considerable enthusiasm among women across the range of projects under consideration here. Seven evaluations referred specifically to the group process as a vital ingredient of project success, while one referred to the loss of social contact as a project "cost" (women in Cameroon selling food crops to cooperative buyers rather than in the marketplace, as before), and one mentioned the lack of social cohesiveness as an obstacle to achieving project goals (community development in the slums of Colombo, Sri Lanka).

Group activities tend to engender feelings of pride, self-confidence, and skill (6 projects), of eagerness and enthusiasm (2 projects), of awareness of leadership skills (2 projects), and of higher aspirations (1 project). When limited to women only, the group may offer the only culturally acceptable means for participants to leave their homes for collective action (e.g. for purdah-observing women in Bangladesh). The San Marcos sewing center in the Philippines, for example, is described as having the following impact on the women who participated:

> Women have achieved an ongoing additional source of income from an idea they originated, thus not only are the results tangible in the growing business but intangible as well in their well deserved sense of pride and competence at their accomplishment.
>
> The fact that the project started within its own building provided women with the opportunity to literally "go to work." The women responded enthusiastically to this innovation in their lives. (New TransCentury, June 1978)

12. More lasting effects may be experienced when women unfamiliar with organized cooperative efforts begin with a single activity that carries clear and immediate benefits, then move into other activities

as their skills and confidence increase. The Cameroon women's cooperative provides a good example of a phased sequence of events. In the first stages, women mobilized for the purchase of corn mills to reduce the daily drudgery of grinding corn at home: subsequently, and after a considerable time lapse, they organized a palm oil purchasing scheme, then a food marketing scheme, with future plans for fertilizers and consumer stores. The project description concludes with a clear lesson: "Starting slowly and answering one problem or issue at a time has allowed the leaders to grow at their own pace and ability" (Jackson, 1979, p. 9).

13. The achievement of concrete economic benefits is a key motivating factor responsible for maintaining group activities. Fifteen projects cited higher incomes (or savings) as indicators of success, e.g. additional net incomes per family of $150 a year for the Thai farm families engaged in sericulture (#2), and profits from the pig fattening project of a women's group in the Republic of Korea (#3). Evaluators of the Kenya project for women (#11) report that "The income-generating part of the project has been the most successful area of endeavor," while those of the Ethiopian nonformal education project (#21) recommend greater emphasis on income-generating projects and areas of community development. The absence of clear economic benefits may reduce the motivation for some women to participate. Although the linkage is not explicit, evaluators of the Sri Lanka project consisting (among other activities) of lectures on nutrition, sanitation, and home gardening for mothers reported that "The program for the mothers had a limited success as the attendance was sometimes below expectation" (New TransCentury), Jan. 1979).

Evaluations of the Lesotho land conservation scheme doubted that rural households would willingly alter their patterns of production in the desired direction (controlled livestock grazing, etc.) unless yields could be increased by at least 50 percent or even doubled.

14. Marketing proves to be one of the most difficult obstacles to creating viable economic enterprises based on the small-scale production of most rural women's projects. Not only do female beneficiaries frequently lack the skills needed to establish regular markets, but they face additional problems such as cultural disapproval or personal reluctance to carry goods to market (Bolivia #12), lack of access to transport (Fiji #17), and difficulties of competing with established enterprises. Profits from the palm oil sales of the Cameroon women's cooperative, for example, helped subsidize the marketing of food crops:

> The cooperative structure is a constraint to making food marketing profitable -- particularly when competing with private dealers, who have lower transportation costs, sophisticated marketing contacts. In addition, members do not view the cooperative as their own but rather as an outside force with unlimited finances. This often results in members demanding unreasonable prices for their produce at the institutional level (Jackson, 1979, p. 8).

Project designs should pay explicit attention to marketing requirements to ensure that income-generating schemes for women can become genuinely self-supporting, rather than being maintained as "charitable" enterprises based on a welfare mentality. By the same token, of course, vocational training projects should be based on a thorough analysis of local labor market conditions to ensure that trainees can find employment at least at prevailing wages. Although the El Salvador vocational training courses (#7) reduced the overall

level of unemployment of trainees from 68 to 48 percent, students graduating from the cooking and cosmetology classes (presumably almost all female) maintained the highest levels of subsequent unemployment (over 60 percent), while those graduating from automechanics and welding classes (presumably male) had the lowest rates(13 and 36 percent, respectively) (Final Report/Evaluation, May 1978, p. 7). Evaluators recommended revising the types and locations of courses offered in order to assure that they respond to real needs for skills training applicable to local labor market conditions.

15. If girls and women are not specifically identified in project papers as intended beneficiaries, they are likely to remain invisible in planning and evaluation documents. This general observation relates to two processes. First, when clients are defined as "poor, unskilled, urban and rural students," "poor children ages 6-14 and their families," or "small scale, near subsistence farmers," the evaluator is not reminded to look at the distribution of project benefits among male and female unskilled students, or male and female poor children, or men and women within farm families.

Second, in the absence of a clear identification of females among clients, project administrators are less likely to consider women's needs and priorities during design and implementation, and less likely to train female workers to serve a female clientele (e.g., the women of farm families who would benefit from direct assistance in agricultural production and marketing of their own crops).

This shortcoming derives from the role of social soundness analysis in project design. Rather than forming the basis for deciding what types of interventions are best suited to particular socioeconomic

situations -- that is, rather than actively shaping decisions about project type, location, and design -- most social analysis appears as an afterthought, a justification (required for AID project approval) of decisions based on other criteria. Yet, as Heli Perrett points out in her perceptive report,

> Such design stage social analysis prepares the way for social analysis during and following inplementation through identifying critical assumptions about the process of development and flow of benefits which can be monitored; identifying possible negative consequences and distributional questions which should be looked at during project evaluation; identifying longer term social changes which might come about as a result of the project and the early signs which precede them (Perrett, 1978, p. 10).

Perrett's comments are particularly relevant to the question of women. AID Country Development Strategy Statements rarely pay specific attention to women's social and economic roles, and more rarely link these to planning strategies.[20/] Critical assumptions appearing in the Logical Framework rarely refer to social issues such as the distribution of benefits within the household. Although the project development process outlined in Handbook 3 requires specification in Project Identification Documents and Project Papers of identities of intended beneficiaries and the extent of their proposed participation, few explicitly refer to women.[21/] The lack of attention to the differential impact of projects on males and females during project monitoring and evaluation is consequently not surprising.

20/ Memo from Patrick Fleuret, PPC/PDPR/HR, "The treatment of development-linked male/female roles in 46 current CDSSs" (March 26, 1979) and response from Kathleen A. Staudt, PPC/WID, "Women in development: the CDSSs" (May 18, 1979).

21/ The situation should be improved considerably with the adoption of Handbook 3 revisions that pay special attention throughout to the roles of women. See memo from Kathleen A. Staudt, PPC/WID, "Recommended additions for revision of Handbook 3" (February 28, 1979).

Preliminary social soundness analysis plays at least two key roles.[22/] One is to protect people from harmful consequences. As William Siffin points out,

> The basic aim is negative -- to minimize the likelihood of error -- the kind of error that has too often diverted project benefits from intended recipients, that has produced success at the cost of non-replicability, that has damaged those who were intended to be helped. Social soundness analysis is protective, aiming to avoid certain kinds of outcomes as well as foster certain general values (Siffin, n.d., p. 6).

This protective role relates directly to the question raised in the introduction: under what conditions are women least likely to be disadvantaged by development projects, either in absolute terms or relative to men?

A second role of social analysis is to prevent expensive failures that demoralize AID donors and recipients alike. A preliminary analysis that leads to (among other things) the "discovery" of women's often hidden social and economic roles will improve the chances of meeting project purposes and goals. In the absence of baseline information on the sexual division of labor in the production of goods and services for domestic consumption and for sale or exchange, on the sexual distribution of rewards, and on the participation of women and men in household and community decision making, assistance may be misdirected. A program aimed at increasing agricultural production by organizing marketing cooperatives for (mostly male) household heads, for example, is likely to fail if the crop was traditionally grown and

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22/ Guidelines for conducting social soundness analysis are outlined in USAID Handbook 3, Part III, Annex F, and in Ingersoll (1977) and Siffin (n.d.).

marketed by women. As men gain control over the economic returns to their wive's labor, the women lose their incentive to produce, and output falls.[23/]

The first step in designing an evaluation system with an institutionalized concern for the interests of girls and women as beneficiaries, then, is to make sure that questions regarding their participation are raised throughout the entire cycle of project identification, design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation, leaving room for corrective action at every stage. The second step is to develop a procedure for evaluating the differential impact of projects of all types on males and females so that the "lessons learned" can be compiled and compared in a systematic fashion. Some suggestions for doing so are outlined in Sections III and IV.

23/ A number of examples of unintended negative effects are presented in the discussion of project impacts in Section III.

III. ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ON WOMEN: AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The discussion in Section II focused on three dimensions of female participation: their role in project decision making, their direct access to benefits, and the effects of the project on their position in the family and the community. Information on decision making and on access to benefits is far easier to collect from project records and interviews with personnel at various levels than is information on the immediate or long-term effects of the project on the status of girls and women. Evaluation documents, on the whole, are addressed primarily to the logistical questions of whether the project is "on time" and functioning as planned rather than to social impacts. Although this preoccupation with institutional support and technical transfers (the means of development) is understandable, it obscures the more important questions of the wellbeing of recipients (the ends of development). What happened to trainees and their families after they completed their courses? Did they find jobs? Where? Did cooperative members become more productive, use the credit for intended purposes, participate in community decision making? Who were the primary beneficiaries of large-scale rural water supply systems, and how did their lives change? How were benefits distributed between males and females? Who gained, and who lost? In what ways?

This section describes an approach to performing both mid-stream evaluations of the immediate social effects of ongoing projects, and ex-post evaluations of long-term impacts following project termination. By choosing projects rather than sector-level or country-level analysis,

more qualitative as well as quantitative methods of assessing changes within and among households can be considered. Questions raised in the evaluation framework regarding **differential effects on males and** females can shape the inquiry of the preliminary social soundness analysis and baseline data collection. Such questions can also form a basis for project monitoring, especially if formal evaluations are scheduled too late for major revisions of project policies and practices affecting women.

Whether the project is a women-specific vocational training program ("low-income women from barrios of San José"), a poultry development scheme with a women's component ("small farmers in the Yemen Arab Republic of whom women are expected to assume a major role"), or a radio education program aimed at a general population ("16,000 illiterate highland Indians engaged in subsistence agriculture"), the process of assessing its social impact on women and men, in both absolute and relative terms, would address two major questions.

First, what are the direct effects on primary beneficiaries (male and famale), i.e., now has their access to important resources changed in absolute terms as a result of the project? This target population may be defined as classes of individuals such as malnourished children or unemployed youth; classes of households such as tenant farm families or members of an agricultural cooperative; or whole localities such as villages or districts within integrated development schemes.

Second, what are the distributional effects of projects across different categories of persons both within and outside the targeted population? Of particular importance to the analysis of women's

situation is the allocation of resources within households. How has the project altered the division of labor within the household, or the distribution of resources such as food or schooling, on the basis of the sex, age, or relationship to household head of family members? When families or households rather than classes of individuals are defined as the primary beneficiary unit, do benefits accrue to all household members or is the domestic balance of resources significantly altered depending on who has direct access to project goods and services?

We are also interested in analyzing distributional effects of projects across households, both within and between the targeted and non-targeted populations. Are women-head households bypassed when titles are granted in land distribution schemes, for example? Do benefits from membership in a women's marketing cooperative accrue disproportionately to those from better-off households or from dominant racial, religious, or ethnic groups? Does a project that introduces new technology in agricultural or nonagricultural production to one class of persons (say, men employed in modern fish freezing facilities) result in the displacement of another (e.g., women engaged in traditional fish drying and marketing activities)?

Table 3 summarizes the framework for evaluating the absolute and relative effects of projects on people's access to a wide range of resources that determine their physical, economic, and social wellbeing -- that is, their position in the household and community social structure. In the following discussion, some examples are given of how projects can affect males and females differently, in some cases narrowing the gap between them in their access to important resources, and in other

TABLE 3

FRAMEWORK FOR EVALUATING THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROJECT BENEFITS

Resources that determine	Direct effects on primary beneficiaries[a/]	Distributional effects within households	Distributional effects across households
Physical wellbeing			
1. food, water, fuel			
2. housing			
3. environmental quality			
4. medical care			
5. personal safety			
6. rest and leisure			
Economic wellbeing			
7. income/cost of living			
8. credit			
9. land and water			
10. technology			
11. other assets/debts			
Social wellbeing			
12. knowledge			
13. power			
14. prestige			

[a/] Primary beneficiaries or target populations may be defined as classes of individuals, of households, or of localities.

cases widening it. Sometimes, of course, improved access to one type of resource may impede access to another. Full-time wage employment for women, while offering badly needed cash incomes, can result in the elimination of home garden production with severe nutritional disadvantages for the entire family, the early cessation of infant breast feeding, and a critical shortage of agricultural labor during periods of peak demand, among other consequences.

The likelihood of mixed results poses a major dilemma to policy makers who must decide just what economic or social costs recipients may be expected to bear in order to achieve some other (presumably more valuable) economic or social benefit. The question of "what works and what does not in specific socioeconomic environments" is thus complicated by the fact that a project can work in one way but not another. Purposes may even be contradictory: for instance, a project might increase agricultural production more rapidly -- at least in the short run -- through authoritarian leadership that contradicts the goal of consciousness raising and participatory decision making.

The framework summarized in Table 3 and elaborated below includes a number of resources that determine people's physical, economic, and social wellbeing. Implied in the framework is a definition of development that includes "(1) a general improvement in levels of living, together with (2) decreasing inequalities of income distribution, and (3) the capacity to sustain continuous improvements over time" (Kocher, 1973, p. 5). This latter element, which derives in large part from the acquisition of important social resources such as knowledge, power, and prestige, is of particular relevance to the analysis of women's situation.

Indicators of Physical Wellbeing

1. Access to food, water, and fuel. How has the project affected the overall quantity, quality, and security (e.g., severity of seasonal shortages) of food, water, and fuel consumed by primary beneficiaries? What are the distributional effects within and across households?

A project designed to increase food production that does not take into account the sexual division of labor in agriculture, for example, can have the unintended consequences of reducing household food consumption. In the MWEA land settlement scheme of Kenya, women who worked long hours with their husbands (or in their husbands' extended absence) in the new irrigated rice fields had less time than before to grow traditional foods on their own garden plots, which were too small in any case to provide for the family's subsistence. While rice production increased and total incomes among participating households rose, nutritional levels fell (Hanger and Moris, 1973). If the importance of women's food production had been recognized, provision could have been made for agricultural inputs such as credit, fertilizers, and seeds for the garden plots as well as the rice plots, perhaps with some experiments in labor-saving collective production and marketing of traditional foodstuffs.

Similarly, even a project that increases total household food consumption can worsen the nutritional status of certain household members. In many cultures, women and children eat only when the men have finished, and male children are given preference over female children when food is scarce. Although family food rations paid to male laborers on food-for-work construction schemes in Bangladesh are

intended for six persons, the heavy labor increases men's caloric requirements and leaves women and children in some families with less to eat than before.[22/]

Some projects attempt to alter the pattern of food allocation within the family directly. Feeding programs for children in primary schools, for example, benefit children over adults (assuming that children's home rations are not reduced by an amount equivalent to that consumed at school) and also boys over girls, to the extent that daughters are kept out of school more than sons. Feeding programs for pregnant and nursing mothers attempt a similar reallocation in favor of nutritionally vulnerable women, assuming that beneficiaries actually consume the full portions meant for them rather than sharing with other family members (Singer, 1978). It is clear that project planners must understand fully the role of girls and women in food production, processing, distribution, and consumption if overall targets are to be met in a manner that distributes benefits equitably.[23/]

2. Housing. How has the quality of beneficiaries' housing changed since the project began, as measured by the adequacy of protection against the elements, the amount of space per person, household amenities, and other indicators such as cultural acceptability? Do home improvements (e.g., the acquisition of electricity) benefit one sex more than the other, or one type of household more than another? Are there negative

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22/ Interview with Penny Satterthwaite, United Nations Fund for Population Activities, Dacca, Bangladesh, Feb. 1976; see also Chen and Ghuznavi (1977) on women in food-for-work schemes.

23/ See, for example, the two volumes of Proceedings and Papers of the International Conference on Women and Food (1978).

aspects that might affect females more than males, such as increased crowding due to immigration to an employment scheme, or insufficient temporary shelter for migrant workers on construction projects?

Some projects specifically designed to improve the housing supply might unintentionally bypass certain classes of households. A community development project, for example, offers low-cost loans for building material in a self-help housing scheme dependent on volunteer labor from participating households. Women-headed households, i.e., those without adult males present, are less likely to qualify because they cannot provide the necessary labor (or are not included in the relevant training programs) and are too poor to pay back the loans. Or a resettlement scheme may construct housing without consultation with future residents, with the result that the design and location of units are inappropriate to women's needs. Given that in most societies women spend more hours per day on average in the home than men do, any positive or negative change in housing quality is likely to affect them more intensely.

3. Environmental quality. This component of physical wellbeing is measured by the existence of sanitary facilities, the adequacy of drainage, the degree of air and water contamination, and the prevalence of environmentally based diseases, among other indicators, as measured in the home, the workplace, and the community at large.

The relationship of persons to their physical environment is determined in part by the sexual division of labor and by cultural norms determining the nature and location of various patterns of daily or seasonal activity. Because males and females within any cultural setting interact somewhat differently with their physical environment, projects

that have a strong environmental impact (either positive or negative), or that alter significantly the sexual division of labor, may affect the health of males and females differently. In villages where women rarely leave their household compounds, for example, the provision of latrines or of bathing facilities near the home will carry greater benefits to females than males, who work in the fields and bathe in the rivers. At the same time, a program to eradicate water-borne diseases such as schistosomiasis would benefit disproportionately those in most contact with the water, i.e., boys and men. Certain shifts in the sexual division of labor may also carry unintended negative consequences for women. Successful agricultural projects that increase yields and household incomes in traditional purdah-observing societies may lead to the withdrawal of girls and women from the agricultural labor force to the more highly valued (and now affordable) practice of female seclusion. With darkness and inactivity, the incidence of vitamin D deficiency and associated diseases (sometimes including obesity) increases significantly.

4. Medical care. How has the project affected the accessibility of the target population to preventative and curative health care and to family planning information and services? As for food, access to medical resources is likely to be distributed unevenly within the household as well as across households, with preference given to certain members of the family such as highly valued male children or the adult male breadwinner. In addition, women's access to medical care is constrained in some societies by cultural restrictions on contact between males and females. A project designed to deliver health services will require in almost all settings a clear women's component, with

special efforts to train female medical practitioners to reach a female clientele in an environment sensitive to their concerns. Failure to do so can result in outright rejection of the program, or in unnecessary suffering for women who are desperate to seek help.

5. Personal safety. This aspect of physical wellbeing is rarely discussed in the evaluation literature, yet it can be central to the concerns of project participants: the degree of exposure to, and protection from, personal violence or accident and injury. Have risks of certain types increased since the project began? For whom? Projects may unwittingly expose girls and women to personal dangers that they either must endure, if there is no choice, or that contribute to project failure. The protection of girls of marriageable age, in particular, is a matter of extreme concern in societies placing a high value on female chastity as a symbol of the honor of the kin group. A training program that requires young women to walk long distances from their villages to the training center, thus exposing them to the risk of sexual harassment, leads to the termination of the program by administrators who mistakenly decide that the high incidence of dropouts represents a lack of interest among participants. The provision of safe transport for trainees (or safe places to stay overnight, where necessary) would solve this problem.

In another example, the spread of more lucrative coffee and cocoa plantations outward from a village in Cameroon forced women off the cleared land to more distant fields for their food crops:

> Food fields are anywhere from one to ten kilometers from the village with three to six kilometers most often cited. This distance implies a one-half to one and one-half hour walk to the food fields over rough forest paths, often with slippery

> stream and marsh crossings. The worst aspect of the trek comes during the return -- a woman is often carrying the daily food supply of cassava, plantain, and corn, plus firewood, and often her baby as well. The weight is anywhere from 30 to 80 pounds. Injuries from falls or scrapes are common, and much spontaneous abortion and persistent backache is blamed on this aspect of women's work (Henn, 1976, quoted in Tinker, 1979, p. 14).

Again, careful attention needs to be paid to measures that will increase the safety of working conditions for women, such as more accessible locations and access to means of transport that men currently control.

6. Rest and leisure. This component is measured by the intensity (energy) and extensiveness (time) of labor required for production for household consumption or for sale or exchange, and by the number of hours available to household members for rest, leisure, and sleep. Daily, weekly, and seasonal fluctuations are important. Studies of time allocation within and across households in different settings reveal differences not only by household composition, landholding status, occupation, and seasonality, but by age and sex. When production for household consumption is considered in combination with production for sale or exchange, women are frequently shown to have less time for rest and leisure than men. Often they are the first to rise in the morning and the last to sleep at night.

How does a project affect the intensity and extensiveness of female labor, both in absolute terms, and relative to men and other classes of women? This depends heavily on the current division of labor by class, age, and sex, and on the nature of the project. If it is aimed at increasing agricultural production, for example, are the new expanded crops or activities primarily women's work or men's work? Do new technologies reduce the time male farmers spend ploughing the fields, but

not the time women farmers spend in weeding and harvesting? Do changes in cropping patterns require heavier seasonal labor commitments from women that detract from their ability to care for older children or breastfeed their infants? In an evaluation of the effect on women's workload of a hypothetical land settlement scheme based on a composite of several actual projects, Palmer (1979, p. 50) summarizes:

> Given the traditional sex-typing of agricultural tasks, the effect of new labor requirements has been the continued year-round work of landed women accompanied by greater intensity of daily work schedules at seasonal periods. For men, the effect has been more days of the year worked, through double-cropping, but no greater intensity of work than previously. ...
>
> Women face conflicts between work on the subsistence and rice crops, and between child care and productive work at seasonal peak periods. Women are unable to use exchange or hired labor to ease their burden (except for planting) because they have insufficient influence on either the organization of labor or the use of the profits from rice. Women in polygamous households and landless women probably do not work as hard as other women, but even landless women have a greater work load than men when household and child care responsibilities are taken into account.

Although this aspect of the project reflects a significant cost to women (increased agricultural workload) with little compensating gain in independent access to resources such as cash returns from rice, other aspects of the project reduced the drudgery of women's work. Time spent fetching water was reduced from an average of 1-1/2 hours per day to a half hour with access points now as close as the irrigation streams (Palmer, 1979, pp. 54-55). Fuel, too, which used to be gathered from nearby forests or prepared from cattle dung cakes, was now more likely to be purchased in the form of firewood or coal. Although this new development reduced women's burdens, it created new pressures for cash to buy fuel. A careful social soundness analysis during the preliminary stages of project design that takes into account the intensity and

extensiveness of labor inputs of all household members could help to ensure that female workloads are reduced, if they are now excessive, or that they are increased only in exchange for some other valued resource and with appropriate social supports.

Indicators of Economic Wellbeing

7. Income in cash, kind, or trade in relation to cost of living. Household income can be measured by its amount, its security (extent of seasonal fluctuations, short-term unemployment, long-term prospects, etc.) and its source; economic wellbeing depends in part on the relation between income and those expenses required to maintain an adequate standard of living.

Not only the level of household income, but the question of who earns the income and in what proportion to the total, is crucial to understanding the domestic economy. Although the household is often considered the basic unit of production and consumption, in some societies the household economy is highly segmented. Women in many African societies, for example, are expected to provide for their own and their children's subsistence, while men's earnings go for larger cash outlays (land, cattle, marriage exchanges) and for their personal needs. Which household members earn direct economic returns to their labor (surplus production for sale or exchange), and which members engage in unpaid labor (production for family consumption)? Do women whose labor contributes to surplus production have direct access to (and control over) earnings, or are their husbands paid for women's labor? Who pays for what household expenses? Does a project increase women's unpaid labor but not their paid labor?

A review of the literature reveals a number of cases in which development efforts have altered the distribution of incomes within the family in such a way as to leave women absolutely or relatively worse off than before. In some cases this loss results in the failure of the project to meet its production targets. A classic example comes from the reorganization of a marketing cooperative in the pyrethrum industry in Kenya. Whereas women had been growing the crop and selling the dried flowers directly, the new cooperative returned payments only to formal members, who were mostly men. The women became discouraged by the loss of personal incomes which they had formerly controlled; "rationally and realistically in the circumstances, their output fell" (Apthorpe, 1971, p. 73). The expansion of sugarcane cash cropping in northern Belize offered new employment opportunities for men but reduced local cultivation of corn, upon which the women had depended not only for food for the family and for exchange, but for chicken and pig feed. Pigs were the main independent source of income for women; the decline in pig production thus represented a significant loss of women's economic independence as well as a nutritional loss to the family (Stavrakis and Marshall, 1978).

Even where women's personal incomes are increased by access to new employment opportunities within or outside agriculture, the gains can be counteracted by increasing financial obligations. Kikuyu women in a coffee-growing region of Kenya who earned independent incomes in agricultural labor lamented the increasing tendency of their husbands to spend money on imported beer and hotel food, while failing to provide clothes and school fees for the children (Stamp, 1975-76, p. 28) Under some conditions, men may decide to work less hard as their women work more. Project planners clearly have little control over this aspect of

household decision making, but it is crucial that they understand the current pattern of control over earnings and expenditures within beneficiary households before introducing activities that may undermine women's position and perhaps subvert the project.

8. Access to credit. How has the project affected the supply and cost of credit or loans available to households in the target group? Are female as well as male family members eligible for loans? Are women-headed households eligible? Most projects designed to provide new sources of credit consider the household as a unit and the male as its head. Women are consequently denied independent access to credit that could increase their own productivity in agriculture, handicrafts, or other activities. In a rice project in Senegal, women were the main paddy growers but only men could obtain credit for agricultural inputs from the project. Because husbands were reluctant to go into debt on their wive's behalf, the project had to be redesigned to reach women with credit directly before it could achieve its production goals (World Bank, 1978, pp. 26,28). In addition, new banking institutions -- even those for low-income rural populations -- may set collateral requirements that women are unable to meet. The People's Bank of Indonesia, for example, with branches throughout the country, makes low-interest loans to farmers against collateral such as land or cash crops (rice, maize, soybeans, sugar, cotton) but not fruit or vegetable crops or household equipment which are typically women's assets (Milone, 1978, pp. 107-112). Evidence from some projects suggests that innovative methods could be designed to reach this traditionally ineligible group of borrowers, with important productive consequences (Buvinić, Sebstad and Zeidenstein, 1979).

9. Land and water. This component of economic wellbeing is measured by the amount and quality (productivity) of land legally owned; by the amount and quality of land available for use (leasing, share-cropping, tenancy, etc.); and by the security of land and water use rights.

Most projects involving land redistribution, such as new settlement schemes, are concerned with creating a more equitable distribution of resources between the landless or near landless and the landed classes. Less attention is paid to the distribution of land rights within the household, as well as between male-headed and female-headed households. Does the project expand or contract women's legal or traditional rights to the ownership or use of land? Does a scheme designed to secure tenants' rights, for example, address the question of what happens to women of tenant families when the husband dies? Do land resettlement schemes provide women with their own plots, or legally recognize their joint ownership or use rights with their husbands? Or are titles granted to the male household head, undermining women's current access and inheritance rights? Does a project reduce landlessness among male-headed households but not among female-headed households?

A resettlement scheme in Nigeria, for example, distributed five-hectare plots to families for soybean, corn, and bean production, but did not provide for kitchen gardens in which women traditionally raised vegetables for family consumption and for the local market (Dulansey, 1977). And although some settlement schemes will allot land to women-headed families (in the Rahad area of the Sudan, about 7 percent of resettled land to be farmed with cotton and groundnuts was allotted to

women who were heads of formerly nomadic families), it appears that in most voluntary resettlement schemes, women without husbands are usually excluded.[24/]

10. Technology and technical assistance. Access to these resources increases productivity and the potential for higher economic returns, depending on their quality, appropriateness to local conditions, and frequency of use.

Which household members, and what classes of households, have the greatest access to labor-saving technology permitting them to reduce time or energy inputs and/or increase outputs? What are the distributional effects of the introduction of new technology? Who benefits, who is bypassed? Do planners consider the development of appropriate technology for domestic consumption as important as technology for the production of surplus in agriculture or industry?

The history of development efforts frequently points to negative impacts on women of technologies that widen rather than narrow the productivity and earnings gap between the sexes. A typical example is the introduction in many regions of the world of community milling machines. Although increasing the speed and reducing the cost of grain processing, they do not benefit poor landless women who earn their living by traditional hand-pounding methods. Not only are the new machines usually operated by men, but the women can no longer compete and their earnings fall. Similarly, new technologies are frequently applied to large-scale cash cropping but not to small-scale

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24/ For recommendations on the role of women from the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, see Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (1979).

food cropping, and to the work men do in the crop cycle (ploughing, perhaps harvesting) but not to women's work (planting, weeding).

The provision of technical assistance to beneficiaries may also bypass women unless specific steps are taken to ensure that they are reached. Does the project being evaluated attempt to contact women directly with technical assistance in agriculture or small industry, for example, or is most assistance extended to the male household head who is expected to pass on his knowledge to other household members? Does the assistance narrow or widen the gap in productivity across different classes of households?

Women's access to technical assistance is constrained by at least two factors: as workers they are concentrated in sectors of the economy such as subsistence agriculture, handicrafts, or small-scale marketing that are bypassed by most technical assistance programs; and as women they tend to be less "visible" within these sectors than are men. As a consequence, their productivity suffers from constraints on access to good quality raw materials, marketing assistance, advice on more effective methods of organizing production, knowledge about credit sources, management and bookkeeping assistance, and so on.

In many countries, agricultural extension programs have no female agents in some or all of the districts they serve. Male agents deliver services only to male farmers, ignoring women's contributions within these households as well as women farmers who head their own households. For instance, in an area of small-scale farming in Western Kenya in which 40 percent of a sample of farm managers (as distinct from owners) were women alone rather than women managing jointly with men, female-managed farms were significantly less likely to have been visited by

government extension agents, to include a household member who had visited a demonstration plot, to include a household member trained in short specialized programs of crops or farm technology, or to have applied for or received a loan (Staudt, 1978, p. 443; see also Staudt, 1975-76). Although the effect of lower service on agricultural productivity was mediated by a number of other factors, including a strong informal network of information exchange among women farmers, the benefits of technical assistance clearly accrued disproportionately to farm families with an adult male present. As a first step to correct these inequities, women must be trained in all aspects of technical assistance in order to reach women producers with appropriate information and services.

11. Other assets in relation to debts. These can be measured by the ownership or use rights of buildings and other capital goods (e.g., household goods, animals); amount of savings; amount of debts. How are assets distributed within the household? Who owns or uses them, and who has the right to sell or trade them, give them away, or bequeath them? In particular, what independent assets do women control? Does the project improve women's ability to accumulate assets, or undermine it?

As with land, women's legal and traditional rights to assets are usually constricted; they may be positively or adversely affected by development efforts. Frequently a woman's only personal assets are moveable property such as jewelry, a few household items, and perhaps some small animals, all obtained through inheritance or dowry. Yet, small as they may be, these assets are of critical importance in determining women's sense of independence and self worth. Among the Tuareg

and Fulani herders of the Sahel, for example,

> It is the obligation of the bride's family to send her to her new home with a dowry consisting of household goods and animals -- usually 5 or 6 donkeys and 10 to 40 goats. Sometime after marriage it is customary for a husband to give his wife a gift of animals according to his means -- a few goats, one or two camels (Cloud, 1978, p. 74).

Following the Sahelian drought, the lack of understanding among program administrators of the sexual division of control over resources seriously damaged the nomadic women's economic and social positions:

> ... (among) both Fulani and Tuareg herders, one of the major concerns expressed was that the government's program to reconstitute herds lost in the drought was replacing cattle only for the men. Women's stock was not being replaced. This was crippling their social system -- animals were unavailable for dowry and bridewealth payments, women had lost their independent property. This was apparently the unintentional result of the government program that issued a card to the head of each family, and replaced animals only to the family head (ibid.).

In this case, a fairly simple shift in project policies and procedures would have corrected the distortion in the distribution of benefits and long-term social impacts.

Indicators of Social Wellbeing

12. Knowledge. This component includes skills specific to the performance of certain tasks, as well as more general knowledge about the world at large. It can be measured along several dimensions: literacy and numeracy; vocational skills; and a broader level of understanding of the interplay of socioeconomic and political forces in the household, the community, and the larger society.

How are literacy skills distributed within the household and across households of different classes? Are females able to take advantage of formal or informal educational programs to the same extent as males?

Failure to design incentives to ensure that girls as well as boys are able to attend school can severely undermine a project goal of expanding primary education, as in the Afghanistan project in which the quota of 15 percent of new school places reserved for girls could not be met "where it is not accepted culturally." The expansion of women's workload, whether in unpaid agricultural labor or in paid employment, sometimes results in daughters being kept home from school to help in the fields or at home. Project administrators should be prepared to counteract this tendency with alternative plans for labor allocation. With the altered rice cropping patterns of a land resettlement scheme, for example,

> ... girls are now performing more weeding and assist their mothers in preparing meals for the exchange labor. They can also be seen working on the subsistence plots. Boys, on the other hand, are now freer of labor commitments than previously. This has a recognized effect on the relative attendance of boys and girls in the schools (Palmer, 1979, p. 54).

The benfits of vocational skills training can also be unequally distributed within and across households. Has the project opened up new opportunities for women as well as men, extending their vocational skills into areas formerly closed to them? Is the skills training likely to result in paid employment? How can constraints against female participation be overcome? Many training programs funded by international agencies perpetuate sexual stereotypes. Typically, community extension programs train local women in tasks related to home maintenance and child care, or in handicrafts, failing to prepare them for employment in modernized agriculture, industry, services, sales, or clerical/ administrative and technical/professional occupations. Thus women's skills are largely lost to these sectors and the benefits of training accrue disproportionately to males.

One could also consider the impact of the project on women's general knowledge, or world view. In societies placing severe restrictions on women's physical mobility, the limits of their social world are likely to be narrow and their social and political dependence on men is intensified. How does a project affect their access to knowledge and experience of the outside world ? Are there deliberate efforts at "conscientization" among beneficiaries, that is, of stimulating a critical understanding of the dynamics of household and community social structures and of possible strategies for change? Do these reach women as well as men?

13. Power. The capacity of directing one's own and others' behavior can be considered as the sum of separate elements: autonomy, as measured by the degree of self-reliance, belief in the efficacy of one's actions, freedom from coercion by others, and freedom of physical movement; participation in household and community decision making, including an ability to produce desired outcomes; and mobilization for group action, measured by the number and strength of linkages among individuals and groups, the degree of shared self-interest or group consciousness, and the capacity for effective group action.

Women's autonomy in the household and the community differs widely across and within societies according to social class, ethnic or tribal background, age, and other social factors. The question here is whether development projects expand or constrict women's capacity for autonomous action in either absolute terms or relative to men. An income-generating program can increase women's social and economic independence, while another type of program may undermine it. A family planning project that requires the husband's consent for his wife's

sterilization or abortion, for instance, greatly reduces her capacity for autonomous action. Depending on the type of project, investigators could select appropriate questions from among the following possibilities:

How does the project affect the pattern of decision making within the household about important choices such as the timing and number of births, the education of children, the timing of children's marriages and the choice of a mate, what to produce for sale or exchange, how to market it, when to plant and harvest, whether to buy or sell land, and so on? Similarly, what role do women play in the formal and informal decision-making processes in the community at large? In what proportions are they found in formal governing bodies, and with what effect? What social class do they represent?

Knowledge of women's role in household and community decision making should form a central ingredient of development planning (see Mickelwait, Riegelman, and Sweet, 1976), both at the point of baseline data collection to determine project design, and at the point of social impact assessment. Projects can undermine women's current role in decision making, or fail to take advantage of structural opportunities to expand it. In the large Amul Dairy Cooperative in India, for instance, the majority of shareholders are low-income male household heads (owners of one or two milch animals, usually buffalo) who attend meetings, form the board of directors of village societies, and receive the shares of yearly profits (Dixon, 1978, pp. 50-56). Women, who typically care for and milk the animals, do receive daily cash payments when they take the milk to village collection centers. Although this is a valuable source of independence and prestige, women are denied the opportunity

for cooperative leadership roles that serve as a training ground for higher level political office in the community and district. Changes in membership rules requiring each household to enroll a female as well as male member, and a quota of half the places on boards of directors reserved for women, could help to correct this inequity.

The third dimension of power refers to the mobilization of groups for collective action. How do males and females in the household differ in their access to informal and formal social networks based on kinship, landholding status, occupation, residential location, caste or ethnic or tribal identity, religious affiliation, personal friendship, and other bases of identity and loyality? How does membership in such groups differ across social classes and other categories? To what extent does the development project facilitate or impede the capacity of women to organize formal or informal groups engaged in collective action?

At the most basic level, failure of planners to recognize the importance of indigenous patterns of group activity can prevent the completion of a project. Women in one Indian community subverted a scheme for piping water into each housing compound because it would deny them their only legitimate opportunity for visiting together around the village well. In Nepal, failure to organize workers into a viable producers cooperative doomed some women who had gone through a training program in machine sewing to non-competitive hand sewing or inactivity because they could not individually afford to buy sewing machines (Dixon, 1978, pp. 155-6).

Even assistance directed specifically to the support of women's organizations can have adverse distributional effects. The evaluation of one program to train middle- and upper-class women volunteers in

leadership skills and organizational development concluded that "there are more benefits to volunteers than to poor people," thus widening the resource gap between the classes. Project designers will need to pay special attention to the means by which women denied access to most material and social resources can be mobilized to form an independent power base for articulating their needs and working toward collective solutions.

14. Prestige. Prestige refers to the honor or esteem accruing to persons as individuals or groups members, of which both subjective and objective aspects are important. Self-esteem can be measured by the person's subjective belief in his or her own value as a person; the esteem of others is measured by the degree to which a person or group is "objectively" valued by other household or community members.

Who within the household, and in the community, appears to have the highest levels of self-esteem? Do women value their own contributions as highly as men, or do they tend to be self-deprecating? Preliminary talks with poor women by one community organizer elicited a typical response: "We have no special skills; nothing we do is worth selling.[25/] How does the project affect women's feelings about themselves?

Although most development efforts are likely to increase women's pride and self-esteem, especially if women are defined as primary beneficiaries of training or income-generating projects, situations such as the failure of a handicraft center to find a steady market for

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25/ Interview with Sister Michael of Holy Cross, Dacca, Bangladesh, Feb. 1976.

its goods, or the arrogance of some extension workers, can have the opposite effect. Young girls in a newly opened school who are told repeatedly by the male teacher that they are not as smart as boys quickly become discouraged from learning and drop out, a self-fulfilling prophesy. The loss of self-esteem can act as a major impediment to future risk-taking behavior.

Apart from women's feelings about themselves, do other members of the household and community value their contributions more highly? Of course the two are closely interrelated. since self-esteem is so dependent on the esteem of others. Vocational training and income-generating projects for women should -- at least in the long run -- visibly raise their status within the household and community. But some jobs are viewed as "status-depressing" rather than "status-enhancing" even if they provide badly needed cash incomes, especially when the jobs expose women to possibly dishonoring contact with men. In one project in Bangladesh, although the young women themselves were extremely proud of their skills and ability to earn money as government agents visiting women's cooperatives throughout the district, conservative residents disparaged them loudly for their immorality in breaking purdah restrictions (Dixon, 1978, pp. 47, 162-3). In the absence of strong program efforts to counter such criticism, female workers and their families were under considerable personal strain. Other families, fearing their daughters would be unmarriageable if they engaged in such work, refused to permit them employment.

The shift in northern Belize from corn production to sugarcane has had some interesting implications not only in nutritional standards

and women's ability to earn independent incomes from raising chickens and pigs (as discussed previously), but also in the sources of prestige:

> Because food production has always been woven socially and ideologically into the culture, the change in production patterns has ramifications throughout society. One of the most significant has been the removal of the source of male prestige from the domestic household activities of producing good food and good children and the creation of a new "public" sphere of activity which is western and modern in structure, characterized by material goods.
>
> The women's activities are relegated almost totally to [the] domestic sphere, whereas, the acquisition of prestige and status, once accessible to both men and women, is now largely relegated to the public sphere where women cannot compete. ... The women were left with domestic activities of devalued social status and responsibility (Stavrakis and Marshall, 1978, pp. 162-3).

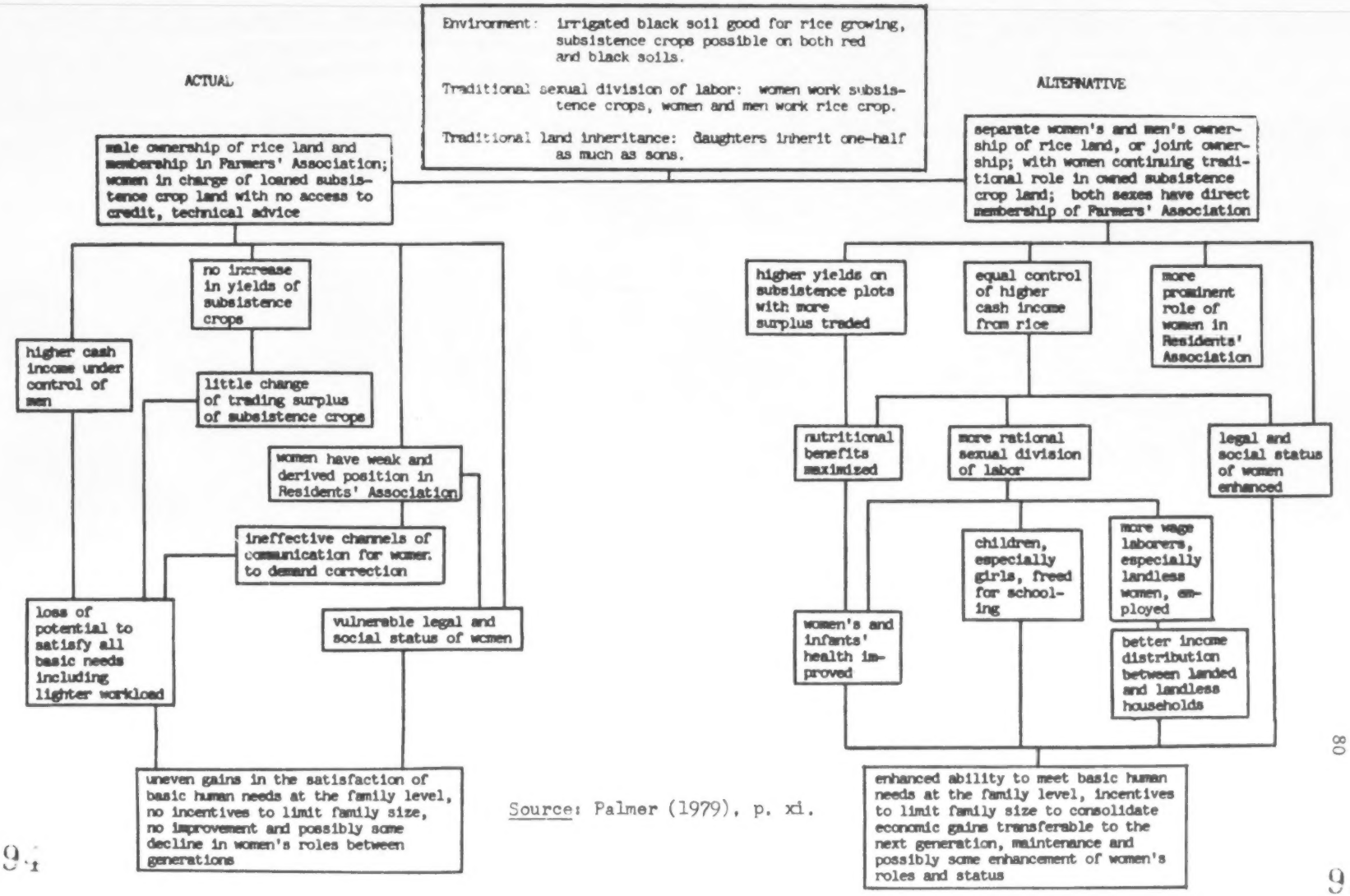
This case clearly cries out for some strong programming to create new income-generating opportunities for women that will increase their social value and prestige as well as their economic contribution.

Although this discussion of the differential effects of projects on males and females may appear to have dwelled unnecessarily on the negative, it illustrates how even the best intentioned projects can have unanticipated deleterious consequences if women's social and economic roles in the household and community are not fully understood. The more positive side is that projects can almost always be designed to achieve their goals -- expanded agricultural output, for instance, -- in a way that maximizes women's access to resources such as control over the economic returns to their labor, technical assistance to increase their productivity, or active participation in community decision-making bodies, while minimizing the costs. Palmer's analysis of a land resettlement scheme suggests an alternative design for meeting production goals and satisfying basic human needs of the entire settlement

population that allocates productive resources between men and women more equitably at the outset, resulting in a cumulative sequence of more beneficial consequences (Palmer, 1979, pp. 78-80). The actual and alternative strategies she outlines, which are presented in Table 4, are applicable in principle to a wide range of integrated development projects where such comprehensive decisions are made.

Some tradeoffs are probably inevitable in any development project; one cannot usually move effectively on all fronts at once. The major issue here is to ensure that the costs are not paid disproportionally by those least able to pay them.

TABLE 4. ACTUAL AND ALTERNATIVE DESIGNS FOR AN INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT


Environment: irrigated black soil good for rice growing, subsistence crops possible on both red and black soils.
Traditional sexual division of labor: women work subsistence crops, women and men work rice crop.
Traditional land inheritance: daughters inherit one-half as much as sons.
ACTUAL
male ownership of rice land and membership in Farmers' Association; women in charge of loaned subsistence crop land with no access to credit, technical advice
no increase in yields of subsistence crops
higher cash income under control of men
little change of trading surplus of subsistence crops
women have weak and derived position in Residents' Association
ineffective channels of communication for women to demand correction
loss of potential to satisfy all basic needs including lighter workload
vulnerable legal and social status of women
uneven gains in the satisfaction of basic human needs at the family level, no incentives to limit family size, no improvement and possibly some decline in women's roles between generations
ALTERNATIVE
separate women's and men's ownership of rice land, or joint ownership; with women continuing traditional role in owned subsistence crop land; both sexes have direct membership of Farmers' Association
higher yields on subsistence plots with more surplus traded
equal control of higher cash income from rice
more prominent role of women in Residents' Association
nutritional benefits maximized
more rational sexual division of labor
legal and social status of women enhanced
children, especially girls, freed for schooling
more wage laborers, especially landless women, employed
women's and infants' health improved
better income distribution between landed and landless households
enhanced ability to meet basic human needs at the family level, incentives to limit family size to consolidate economic gains transferable to the next generation, maintenance and possibly some enhancement of women's roles and status

Source: Palmer (1979), p. xi.

IV. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN COMPILING COMPARATIVE DATA

If an evaluation is to assess the degree of absolute and relative change in people's access to material and social resources, baseline data should reveal their access to resources before the project began. Such information should have been collected or reviewed in the project identification and design stages, but, as we have seen, preliminary social soundness analyses are frequently based on inadequate data and attempted only after major project decisions have been made.

These inadequacies should not subvert the entire process of social impact assessment, however, for evaluations of change can be made in the absence of good baseline data if we are willing to rely on people's statements of how their lives differ now from the way things were before the project began, and especially if we can interview people in "experimental" and "control" settings (see Staudt, 1978, for example). Since most mid-stream evaluations take place within two or three years of the project's inception, memory loss should not be great. Although people's perceptions of change may well differ from whatever objective indicators one could collect, and may be colored by a variety of intervening events, one could argue that it is the perceptions of participants more than the objective indicators that are likely to determine the ultimate social success or failure of the project.

Sources of Data on the Participation of Women in Project Decision Making, Access Project to Benefits, and Immediate or Long-term Consequences

General baseline information on access to many of the resources discussed in Section III, particularly those relating to physical and

economic wellbeing, is available from a variety of sources. National population censuses and more detailed socioeconomic surveys will usually permit broad regional breakdowns with aggregate data on housing conditions, employment status, individual income, household income, household size, land ownership and use, literacy, completed years of schooling of adults, current school enrollment rates of school-age youth, and other variables, although they are frequently not disaggregated by sex, nor by other relevant social categories such as age, marital status, race, and ethnic or tribal identity that would permit an assessment of distributional effects.[26/]

Special interest surveys conducted in the region can offer additional data on such factors as nutritional status or the prevalance of particular diseases, reproductive behavior, labor conditions and wage rates, and other items of interest to the evaluator. Many will permit differentiation by sex, as will most public records such as vital statistics, school attendance registers, hospital or clinic records, membership lists of cooperatives, or bank loan statements. Ethnographic studies are also a rich source of insights even if not conducted in the precise area of project location.

For mid-stream evaluations of the sexual distribution of project benefits, however, we need additional sources. The methods of data collection suggested below are primarily informal and qualitative, even impressionistic, on the assumption that outside evaluators of most projects can spend only a few days or weeks in the area. (If project

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[26/] On the collection of aggregate data on women in development, see Biocentric (1978).

personnel and representatives of client groups continuously monitor the dispersal of goods and services to ensure that females have direct access with males, then much of the evaluator's work will have already been done.) The assumption thus precludes the use of large, systematic random samples of households with standardized questionnaires requiring extensive coding and computer analysis. It suggests, instead, more flexible techniques of rapid appraisal.[27/]

Interviews with project workers, personnel in related institutions, and community leaders.

In interviewing women and men at all levels of project administration, evaluators should pay special attention to those involved in the direct delivery of services to clients on a face-to-face basis (agricultural extension agents, village "motivators," vocational teachers, construction supervisors, etc.). Are they actually reaching women and in what capacity? A special meeting of project workers could be called to address collectively questions of how the project is working, who are its primary beneficiaries, what are the major constraints to women's participation, and how these might be overcome. Key women and men in related local institutions (schools, cooperatives, and marketplace, other service institutions) as well as community leaders can provide, individually or in group meetings, contrasting political perspectives on the project as a whole and the role of women. Although their reactions may be exaggerated in either a positive or negative direction because

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27/ A workshop on Rapid Rural Appraisal held at the Institute of Development Studies in Sussex, England, included several papers that were particularly helpful; see Jackson, Mandal, and Carruthers (1978); Richards (1978); Wood (1978).

of personal stakes in the outcome, their opinions as influential community members are crucial to the success of the project.

Direct observation of project operations and settings

Direct observation of training sessions for project personnel, cooperative meetings, health clinics, village literacy classes, handicraft production centers, and other activities can reveal important information about the number and identity of clients (including the proportions female), the nature of interaction between clients and project personnel and among one another, adequacy of the facilities, and other items that may not be revealed in project documents. At a community meeting, for example, even though women are present, they may rarely if ever speak out, or their opinions may be ignored. This information is helpful in understanding the extent of women's actual rather than reported participation in project decision making. The outside observer may be struck by other visual discrepancies that documents cannot reveal: that few women are actually attending adult literacy classes, for example, even if they are formally enrolled; that women working on construction sites must carry their infants on their backs and leave other children unattended; that girls who should be in school can be seen carrying water and collecting fuel throughout the day.

Group discussions

Visits to the site of service delivery (farms, small industries, health clinics, etc.) offer a natural setting for interviewing clients. The limits of this approach are obvious: not only is the on-site "availability" sample frequently unrepresentative of all beneficiaries,

but it excludes those who are not direct beneficiaries, including other members of clients' households.

But the advantages are also compelling. People are engaged in activities related to project purposes, which adds a concreteness and timeliness to the questions. An interested observer can usually stimulate lively debate about what is good and bad about the project and how the everyday lives of clients and their families have changed, allowing plenty of room for participants to air their grievances and tell stories in their own terms.[28/]

Although the more vocal members are likely to dominate the discussion, a skilled interviewer should be able to get some idea of the degree of consensus or disagreement. Organizers of the audio-cassette listening forum project in Tanzania trained leaders to survey respondents in group discussions, finding the method preferable to individual questionnaires that elicited conflicting information:

> If the ... meetings are conducted according to the methodology developed in the training sessions, it is very difficult to receive unreliable information. With an open climate for discussion, untrue information is corrected by the participants. A number of lively discussions centering around differing opinions about the village practices took place and the discussions and consensus conclusions verified the belief in the information that was finally recorded. The use of group discussions for collecting information also permits any outsiders to question immediately what they might see as discrepancies in the given information (Stanley, n.d., p. 31).

Perhaps most important, the group setting can allay suspicion about the motives of the interviewer, permitting those who wish to say nothing to remain quiet, yet paving the way for later interviews with

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28/ Note, for example, Perdita Huston's interviews with village women in many developing countries (Huston, 1979) and Kusum Nair's observations of village communities in India (Nair, 1961).

individual participants and their families. This is relevant not only to mid-stream evaluations but to the preliminary project identification and design stages as well, especially when the topic is a sensitive one:

> Gathering a group of farmers together at the start of an enquiry to ask them collectively to explain, e.g., the ways in which men can get land, to give local terms for land quality/soil etc. can be very productive and is fast. This is not a threat to anyone particular individual because one is asking the collectivity. To ask X about land quality immediately raises the suspicion "Is he going to take away my land" which does not occur directly with a group gathering together as men who are knowledgeable about farming (Jackson, Mandal, and Carruthers, 1978).

The group interviews need not (should not) be limited to on-site samples. It would be extremely helpful to interview groups of people representing different sectors of the community, such as persons in the target group who have not participated in the project (non-members of agricultural marketing cooperatives, for example) and persons assumed to be indirect beneficiaries (women in families whose male heads are members). Frequently they can be interviewed collectively in their places of work, gathering in the village square or at the well, or in their neighborhoods. A female interviewer will of course have far easier access to groups of women in their homes, especially in areas practicing female seclusion. These group discussions with persons who are not direct beneficiaries can elicit information about their awareness of project goals, the spread of project benefits, and the ways in which project participants are viewed by others in the community.

Informants

Selecting two or three key informants from female project personnel who work directly with clients and from women in the client group is one

short-cut, along with the group discussions, to collecting information on women's access to project benefits. The researcher can work with informants throughout the evaluation, checking back for clarification of issues, requesting additional information that is inaccessible to the outsider. Knowledgeable informants can describe typical patterns of food and fuel consumption, treatment of illnesses, access to land, group affiliation, the sexual division of labor, time use according to season, and even patterns of household decision making. These findings can be used as a basis for additional questioning of samples of participants and nonparticipants that would focus on exceptions to the rule, rather than on repetitive and detailed questioning of everyone on the same topic.

Interviews with samples of households

Ultimately, the evaluator of a large project will need a systematic sample of participants and nonparticipants to interview on the absolute and relative changes in their access to resources. Sample size and design depend on a number of factors such as the type of project, its scope, and the time available. In almost all cases, it will be necessary to forego large-scale random sampling procedures and standardized questionnaires that permit greater statistical elegance in favor of small-scale, less random samples with more flexible interviewing techniques.

If an entire locality is defined as the target area, e.g., in a rural roads project, then a stratified sample of households within the project area is preferable. In the likely absence of an adequate sampling frame, selection may have to rely heavily or directly observable

traits such as housing conditions and more visible socioeconomic characteristics of residents, and on the advice of informants. Special efforts should be made to include women-headed households. Although the non-randomness of the sample will cause some problems in interpretation, we are interested essentially in subjectively perceived matters of process and change rather than in establishing firm parameters of population characteristics.

If classes of individuals or households are defined as beneficiaries, a stratified sample of participant households should be approximately matched with a sample of nonparticipants of similar socioeconomic status. Women in each household should be interviewed regardless of whether they are defined as primary beneficiaries: ideally, a male adult (preferably the husband) should be interviewed as well.

An interviewer could not possibly ask all of the questions stated or implied in the discussion of access to resources in Section III. The approach will have to be flexible. Wives can answer questions about changes in their husbands' access to resources, investments in children, food consumption, literacy skills and vocational training, the sexual division of labor, and household decision making, that do not also need to be asked of men. Some information on typical behavior gained from group discussions and from informants can be passed over, or briefly clarified. Specific questions relating to the direct access of beneficiaries to project services, however (visits by agricultural extension agents, etc.) will have to be asked of everyone.

Questions considered controversial or sensitive can usually be dropped with little loss of information by asking them of informants instead, or by making educated guesses. Detailed information on

household income and expenses, on time use, and on other complex issues could be collected from a small subsample of households rather than from the entire sample. In any case, the value of household interviews is to promote discussion as well as collect facts, so that respondents have a chance to raise new points and to challenge the assumptions of the researcher.

Although ideally the interviews should be conducted in private, this practice often gives rise to suspicion or is simply not feasible. Most often the interviews will include not only all members of the household but inquisitive neighbors as well. This means that more articulate (more powerful) members are likely to dominate the discussions. If women do not speak out, the interviewer should return at another time when the men are absent so that women -- individually or in groups -- have a chance to tell their story.

As in any project evaluation, the general approach described in this section is vulnerable to serious methodological problems. First, is the project responsible for changes, or are they due to other factors? In the real world of development it is hardly ever possible to set up a classic research design with experimental and control groups. Even if we could match households or communities on key variables, there is always too much else going on socially, economically, and politically even to approach the conditions of ceterus paribus. Participants may attribute changes in their lives to the effects of the project when the two are related only coincidentally. It is the task of the evaluator, then, to try to sort out the causal sequence of events and to suggest changes in implementation procedures in the absence of clear guidelines for doing so.

Second, evaluating a project within a year or two of its inception -- although valuable if it is early enough to permit corrective feedback -- may be too soon to pick up genuine change in important attributes such as people's capacity to organize for collective action. Or, early evaluations may pick up indicators of change that appear promising -- increases in household income as a result of particular inputs -- that are not maintained in the long run. The researcher must be aware of the implications of short-term vs. long-term effects, and of the possibility that the timing of the evaluation can affect the outcome in fundamental ways. This caveat is especially relevant to the assessment of new development projects for women.

A Comparative Approach for Evaluating the Effectiveness of Different Project Strategies

In order to answer the question of "what works and what does not in specific socioeconomic environments," we need a method of classifying projects according to their purposes (what works in facilitating access of low-income urban residents to employment, for example); a method of classifying the organizational strategy by which the recipient agency, or service provider, hopes to achieve its objectives; and a method of classifying the socioeconomic environment in which it functions. To these, we add an additional specification: "What works in reaching women? What strategies appear to be most effective in, at the least, protecting women from further disadvantage, and, at the most, offering genuine improvement in their physical, economic and social wellbeing? With projects classified along these different dimensions, we can begin to work out an approach to comparing different types for their impact on women.

What are the project purposes?

In Table 1 we proposed a classification of projects according to purposes into three large categories: those designed to increase production, employment, or incomes within the sectors of food and agricultural production and distribution, nonagricultural production and services, and mixed activities; those designed to improve welfare within the sectors of formal or nonformal education, health, or community organization; and integrated development programs incorporating all sectors. This preliminary classification suggests at least two questions regarding what works. First, do broader, integrated programs or more concentrated sector-specific programs appear to be most effective in bringing about concrete changes in women's lives? Second, which sectors have the greatest spin-off effects? Critics have challenged the practice, common in the past, of subsuming most women's programming under the rubric of "family welfare" while ignoring their roles as producers (e.g., Germaine, 1976-77). Will expanding women's earning capacity directly, for example, have more pronounced long-term effects than subsidizing food, medical care, family planning, education, or housing, by creating an effective demand for these? What are women's own priorities? "Most rural women express economic needs before others," argues one critic. "Why not build on identified self-interest?" (Bruce, 1977, p. 42).

What is the most effective organizational strategy for achieving project purposes?

Given a particular objective, we should be able to weigh the relative effectiveness of different project designs in reaching beneficiaries under different socioeconomic conditions. The introduction of

these two new sets of variables greatly complicates the comparative strategy, however, because the criteria for classifying both project designs and environmental settings are virtually limitless.

One such attempt at classifying major project characteristics affecting client participation (and the distribution of consequent benefits) is presented in Table 5. Most of the examples of the effects have direct relevance to women. Projects requiring technical skills such as complex accounting or marketing practices (characteristic 1) that exclude less educated persons from leadership roles are particularly likely to exclude poor women. Those requiring resources such as land, collateral, or share capital (2 and 6) will probably have similar effects unless innovative procedures are designed to reach individuals or groups usually considered ineligible (encourage collective leasing of land, for example and forego usual collateral requirements for groups of landless women).

Women are less likely to increase agricultural productivity if benefits accrue to their husbands as cooperative members and not themselves (3), or to risk new agricultural techniques if they are primarily responsible for growing food for their families (4). If administrative inaccessibility discourages participation in general (9), female clients can be especially discouraged when male administrators pass them by. If women are mobilized into groups (e.g., handicraft producer's cooperatives) they may gain greater control over administrative decision making. The central question here is, Which type of organization strategy within a given project purpose will ensure that low-income <u>women</u> also benefit?

Table 5. MAJOR PROJECT CHARACTERISTICS AFFECTING INDUCEMENT AND ABILITY TO PARTICIPATE

CHARACTERISTIC	EXAMPLES OF EFFECTS
1. Technological Complexity	A cooperative society organized for a comprehensive package program that requires complex accounting and marketing practices may exclude certain, less educated persons from leadership roles and thus bias participation toward local merchants or professionals.
2. Resource Requirements	A mechanized cultivation project may require participants to have a certain minimum amount of land to be eligible for tractor services, thereby excluding persons with less land. Similarly, credit schemes requiring collateral may exclude tenants from participation.
3. Tangibility of Benefits	Farmers already actively participating in cash crop economy may enter into a project offering yield increases of 25 per cent, while more "traditional" farmers may not come into it unless they can see yields as much as double their present ones (the reason for this may depend on characteristics 4 & 5).
4. Probability of Benefits	Larger owner-cultivators may be more likely to participate in a cotton-growing project than are smaller cultivators because the former will still have enough land to grow food for their families in case the new cotton crop fails or the price drops (risky projects discourage certain participants).
5. Immediacy of Benefits	Farmers are more likely to be willing to participate in building a bridge that helps them get their crops to market than to get involved in a reforestation project, the benefits of which will take a long time to result.

Table 5 (continued)

CHARACTERISTIC	EXAMPLES OF EFFECTS
6. Distribution of Benefits	Poultry project requiring certain capital investment from participants (related to characteristic 2 above) is likely to have more restricted participation in all phases than one providing week-old chicks free or cheaply to all who want them.
7. Program Linkages	Women's participation in a population control program is likely to be greater if it is connected to a child care program; farmers' use of fertilizer is likely to be affected by its being connected to a credit program.
8. Program Flexibility	An adult education program in which there is no provision for local input could well lose participation if it was unable to respond to local demands for a voice in selection or removal of teachers or design of lessons.
9. Administrative Accessibility	A project to promote local handicrafts is likely to attract more participation if artisans can meet with and get suggestions acted upon by those persons who control the staff and funding for the project (this may relate to the preceding characteristic).
10. Administrative Coverage	A low ratio of extension workers per 1,000 farmers will likely have an effect on the participation of the latter as the intensity of interaction and services associated with the program will be lower; it is possible, on the other hand, that too high a ratio may discourage farmer participation in decision-making.

Source: Cohen and Uphoff (1977), pp. 120-21.

What is the nature of the project environment?

Characteristics of the environmental setting set clear constraints on the range of organizational design possibilities. What works and what does not in specific economic environments? Is cooperative organization feasible, for instance? Are low-income people in the project area united by a history of mutual assistance, or divided by caste, ethnicity, religion, language, or political factions? Do low-income women share the same bases of solidarity and cleavage as low-income men? Would smaller, more spontaneous self-help groups work better than larger, more formal cooperatives?

A framework outlining a basic set of factors in the project environment affecting participation, summarized in Table 6, includes physical and biological factors such as climate and terrain; economic factors such as land tenure and ownership; political factors such as the strength of local government institutions; social factors such as family structures and ethnic or religious cleavages; cultural factors such as sex role attitudes; and historical factors such as past experience with development projects. Although the range of variation in settings is infinite, a researcher could attempt to control for some of the major factors thought to influence project outcomes by restricting the comparison of projects to what works in a relatively homogenous region -- say, one characterized by highly concentrated land ownership, insecure tenancy, and ethnic similarity. It may be, of course, that nothing "works" in such a setting to extend lasting benefits to the poor, including poor women, in the absence of fundamental structural change beyond the control of development agencies.

TABLE 6. BASIC SETS OF FACTORS IN TASK ENVIRONMENT AFFECTING PARTICIPATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

FACTOR SET	EXAMPLES OF FACTORS	EXAMPLES OF EFFECTS
1. Physical and Biological Factors	Climate: weather fluctuation, rainfall; soil fertility; water supply; elevation; terrain; vegetation patterns; insect and animal pests; population size relative to land resources.	Long rainy season may make it impossible to hold regular cooperative meetings throughout year because roads and paths are impassible; poor soil fertility for upland farmers may mean they must work enough harder than lowland farmers that they have no time for participating in farmer organizations.
2. Economic Factors	Land tenure and ownership patterns; agricultural production patterns; land rents; occupational patterns; crop and livestock resources; income and expenditure levels; savings, investment and credit; employment possibilities; level of industrial development; markets and transport; physical infrastructure.	Where marketing is handled by same persons who give farmers credit, small farmer credit scheme that doesn't provide marketing puts farmers in difficult situation; land tenure situation may put tenant farmers (nearly half of population) under obligation to landlords, who are opposed to new cooperative.
3. Political Factors	Centralized vs. decentralized structure of government; competitive vs. single party system; tradition of local government (or none); linkages if any of central elites to rural areas and problems; prevailing ideology; orientation toward participation by rural people.	Local government units more an extension of central government authority than representative of local population will lack tradition of their exercising local authority; national center that gives only superficial support to rural development goals and fears any grassroots mobilization may inhibit participatory organization.

Table 6 (continued)

FACTOR SET	EXAMPLES OF FACTORS	EXAMPLES OF EFFECTS
4. Social Factors	Settlement patterns; nuclear vs. extended family structure; clan, ethnic or voluntary association memberships; caste or race divisions; social stratification and class; cumulative vs. cross-cutting social cleavages; local institutions for conflict resolution; rural-urban differences; patterns of migration.	Farmers live in isolated homesteads which make organizing cooperatives difficult; cumulative cleavages of poverty, tenancy and ethnicicty make it difficult to form cooperatives not controlled by wealthy, landed and dominant groups.
5. Cultural Factors	Values relating to place of agriculture in people's lives; sex roles and division of labor: orientation toward future and toward change; attitudes toward group activity and cooperation; patterns of political and social deference; attitudes toward role of women in local and national society.	In certain communities, males will not let women leave house compounds, let alone join home economics club; general attitude of family loyalty and inter-family competition inhibits operation of farmers' association; norm of decision-making by consensus goes against "democratic" majority voting that might defeat landowner.
6. Historical Factors	Past relationships between this area and the national center (cooperative or hostile); traditional rivalries between towns within area; past experience with central government initiatives for rural development; levels of technological sophistication in area.	Prior experiences with a project whose rice seeds failed to germinate makes it difficult to get new HYVs adopted; history of embezzlement of self-help funds raised by community leads many local people to distrust new community development efforts.

Source: Cohen and Uphoff (1977), pp. 148-9.

Where do women fit?

Projects can also be classified according to the representation of women among intended beneficiaries: women-only projects such as organizational support for village mothers' clubs; general projects with a women's component such as an agricultural cooperative with a sub-program for women in poultry raising and small animals; general projects with no specific women's component (although women are assumed to be beneficiaries) such as small farmers credit plans; and men-only projects such as training classes in carpentry and mechanics that include no women. These identities refer to intended beneficiaries as defined in project papers. The actual composition of project clientele may differ significantly. In Paraguay, for instance, a livestock training project offered to farmers became a de facto women's project when an unanticipated 90 percent of those who enrolled in the courses turned out to be women.[29/]

A good deal of controversy is currently brewing around the question of whether women benefit more from women-specific projects or from general schemes. Although this is a topic for empirical investigation, one could hazard some guesses. The review of evaluations in Section II concluded that unless women are specifically cited as beneficiaries, in whole or in part, planners are not likely to seek them out for project participation or measure their absolute and relative access to benefits. In this respect, women-specific projects should be more effective simply because -- other things being equal -- everyone is paying

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29/ Interview with R. Knee, cited in Elliott and Sorsby (1979), p. II-10.

attention to women.

But other things are not equal; in particular, the amount of funding. Women specific projects may reach their clientele more intensively, but because they tend to be small in scale and relatively few in number, they command only a fraction of the monetary resources devoted to development efforts. Thus, women are likely to benefit more extensively by being fully integrated into general schemes. If every general project were to include a women's component commanding half of the resources to be allocated among beneficiaries, the intensive and extensive qualities of both approaches could be maximized.

The compilation of at least roughly comparable data on women's participation in projects funded by international agencies, government donors, and private voluntary organizations in a numbered series of reports accessible to planners would aid immeasurably in the search for answers to the question of "what works." New evaluations of the distribution of benefits could be undertaken with the specific intent of comparing alternative approaches and design under relatively controlled conditions, for example, (1) selecting several projects with the same purpose and sector, within similar socioeconomic environments, and comparing the effectiveness in reaching women of projects with different design characteristics (technological complexity, resource requirements, etc.); (2) selecting several large integrated rural development schemes and comparing the effectiveness in reaching women of projects that have no specific women's component and projects that do; (3) selecting several women-specific projects with similar purposes and designs (the model of small-scale community organization of women's groups for

educational and income-generating purposed so prevalent in the projects discussed in Section II, for example), and comparing their relative effectiveness in different socioeconomic environments. The possibilities are obviously numerous; what is urgently needed is some inter-agency cooperation among donors so that evaluations sensitive to women's roles can be systematically collected and compared.

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